MESSRS. WILLIAM PEPPERRELL

BYRON FAIRCHILD &

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Messrs. William Pepperrell:

Merchants at Piscataqua

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Sir William Pepperrell, Bart. (1696–1759)
The Second Generation

⚓

Messrs. William Pepperrell: Merchants at Piscataqua

BYRON FAIRCHILD

⚓ *Published for*

The American Historical Association

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Preface

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⚓ THIS is a story of pioneering in the New World. In a slightly different physical environment or a different age it would have been a story of fur trading or farming or of mining or railroad-building; but because the Piscataqua region was what it was, the story is one of maritime enterprise. Like any account of human endeavor, it is a study of the means to an end. Regardless of the aims the promoters of colonies might have had, for most of the immigrants the end was their own material and social betterment. For William Pepperrell, and for many another, the end was to transplant to America the social pattern of the English country squire. Because in history, as in husbandry, man reaps what he sows regardless of the soil, the fact of a frontier in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New England did not mean the rise of democracy. The story of the Pepperrells is thus a study in the growth of aristocracy. When a Pepperrell took his seat on the bench or appeared at the head of the York County militia on training day, it was all a part of the pattern; for public office and a militia command were the duty, the perquisite, and the mark of the country squire. For the Pepperrells, the pattern was complete long before the Louisbourg expedition of 1745 made Sir William for a time the outstanding military hero in the colonies. Although the Louisbourg episode was what enabled the Pepperrells of Piscataqua to escape from oblivion, and a narrow escape it was, their mercantile activities were probably their greatest contribution to the age in which they lived and were certainly the means by which the Pepperrells achieved their own ends. The story

of these activities, in the neglected middle years of the colonial period, is what I have chosen to tell in the pages that follow.

Much of the pleasure in writing this story has come from the generosity of all those who assisted in one way or another. I am especially indebted to the Carnegie Revolving Fund Committee of the American Historical Association for the award that made publication possible. I am also under special obligation to Professor Robert G. Albion, formerly of Princeton University, now of Harvard University, for his guidance, encouragement, and helpful criticism, to Professor Richard B. Morris of Columbia University for also reading the manuscript and suggesting many improvements, to Professor Lawrence A. Harper of the University of California for making available transcripts of material from the colonial naval office lists, and to J. W. P. Frost, Esq., of Kittery Point, Maine, for giving me access to his extensive collection of family papers. Mr. Frost's contribution in time, information, and documentary material has been exceedingly generous. For likewise making available material from their private papers I am much indebted to the late Mrs. A. F. Wildes of Kittery, Maine, Mrs. William Bell Watkins of Berryville, Virginia, and Algernon Pepperell, Esq., of London, England. I wish to thank Rear Admiral Reginald R. Belknap for permitting me to use his portrait of Colonel William Pepperrell as an illustration and the editors of *The American Neptune* and *The New England Quarterly* for their permission to use in chapters four and seven material which originally appeared in articles in those journals. For patiently answering my numerous questions, for guiding me through the manuscript collections under their care, and for making lighter in many ways the task of research I wish to thank in particular Miss Marion Rowe of the Maine Historical Society, Miss Dorothy Vaughan of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Miss Carolyn E. Jakeman of the Houghton Library of Harvard University, Stephen T. Riley, Esq., of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Colton Storm, Esq., and the Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Walter M. Whitehill, Esq., of the Boston Athenaeum. For making available the town records of Kittery from 1648 to 1799 I am indebted to Burnell E. Frisbee, Esq., Town Clerk of Kittery, Maine. My indebtedness to my wife and children is heavy. To Martha, Margaret, and Lincoln, from

whom I stole many hours that were rightfully theirs, I am grateful. My wife, Elizabeth L. Fairchild, has shared most of the burdens and cares and many of the routine tasks of authorship, and her share of credit should be equally large. Without her encouragement I doubt whether the book would have been completed.

BYRON FAIRCHILD

Alexandria, Virginia
August 14, 1953

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Messrs. William Pepperrell:

Merchants at Piscataqua

⚓ CHAPTER I

Piscataqua in New England

⚓ FROM Cape Ann to Casco Bay the coast of New England sweeps gracefully eastward in a series of crescent sands backed by salt marsh and separated by low, rocky headlands. The tidal rivers that cut their way through the marshes and across the beaches to the sea are shallow meandering streams, entered only with some difficulty over changing bars. But there is one exception. Unlike the other rivers, the Piscataqua is a deep estuary up which the tides flow into a fair-sized bay and thence into several tributaries for a distance of fifteen or twenty miles. With two large islands and a dozen smaller ones flanking its entrance and forming a broad sheltered harbor, the Piscataqua River bears a closer resemblance to the deep fjords "down East" than to the other rivers of its own particular stretch of coast, a resemblance further heightened by a group of rocky islands lying like a threshold across the harbor's mouth some seven miles out at sea.

Glowing with enthusiasm for this New England coast, Captain John Smith in 1616 described these small, barren islands off the harbor of Piscataqua as "among the remarkablest" he had seen on his voyages, and he promptly named them for himself; but those who followed in his wake happily rejected the name Smith's Isles for the more euphonious, if less laudatory, Isles of Shoals.[1]

In the decade or so after 1616 the Isles of Shoals and the coast of Maine became a scene of busy activity. Then and there two types of English enterprise met, and the result, partly premeditated and partly incidental, was colonization. For perhaps a century before

[1] W. G. Saltonstall, *Ports of Piscataqua* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 4.

the *Mayflower* came to anchor in Plymouth Bay, West Country fishermen had been visiting the shores and outlying islands of Maine, where they erected stages and flakes on which they cured their catch before returning to England. In the years immediately preceding 1620, while the Leyden Separatists were still trying to decide whether to remain among the Dutch or to remove to the New World, some of these fishing stations along the coast of Maine seem to have become a more or less permanent base of operations, where a few men could spend the winter between fishing seasons. While these transient fishermen of Devonshire, Cornwall, and Somerset were voyaging back and forth across the north Atlantic, adding to the store of knowledge about America and to the stock of rumors as well, an organized group of promoters in England was laying plans for permanent settlements on the coast. Whatever the composition of the group, and it changed several times, the leading spirit for forty years was a West Country aristocrat, Sir Ferdinando Gorges. In 1618, just about the time the Pilgrims were preparing for their voyage, Gorges sent over a number of men under the leadership of one Richard Vines as an advance guard of settlement. Vines landed at the mouth of the Saco River, thirty miles east of the Piscataqua, and returned to England the following spring, having proved, to the satisfaction of Gorges at least, that Englishmen could survive a Maine winter. Gorges spent the next few years planning further voyages and attempting to raise support for his projects among the merchants of the western counties. Then came the voyage of the *Mayflower*. He quickened his efforts. The Council for New England was chartered. In 1622 it granted a patent to Captain John Mason, an associate of Gorges, and another to Mason and Gorges jointly, for all the land lying between the Kennebec River and the site of what soon would be Salem, Massachusetts. The very next year the first permanent settlement was planted on the banks of the Piscataqua.

In that year, 1623, two plantations were established on the river: one sponsored by a group of Plymouth merchants, the other by Gorges and Mason under their patents of 1622. David Thomson, the leader of the Plymouth group, landed his small company on what is now known as Odiorne's Point, at the entrance of the harbor. Here they built their living quarters and a saltworks. Thom-

son nevertheless had to share the honor and toil of digging out a foothold in the wilderness with the two Hilton brothers, Edward and William, who came to Piscataqua in the same year. Sailing up the river past the present site of Portsmouth, up Long Reach and

Piscataqua in New England

through the swirling waters of the "Horse Races," the Hiltons landed at a small cove near the tip of Dover Point, some eight miles from the sea. There they cultivated lands on both sides of the river and, like Thomson, turned to fishing.[2]

There was little to distinguish these Piscataqua plantations from the fishing stations established earlier on Damariscove Island, on

[2] Saltonstall, *op. cit.*, p. 10; E. S. Stackpole, *Old Kittery and Her Families* (Lewiston, Me., 1903), pp. 18–19, 111–112. Some evidence is cited in Ralph May, *Early Portsmouth History* (Boston, 1926), pp. 65, 72, to indicate that perhaps only one of the Hiltons, Edward, came over at this time.

Monhegan, and, by this time, on the Isles of Shoals. Nor did they promise to be much more permanent. After spending three years on Odiorne's Point, Thomson abandoned his attempt and moved to an island in Boston harbor; the Hiltons, reinforced perhaps by the remnants of Thomson's settlement and perhaps also by recruits from the Isles of Shoals, struggled on without direct aid or encouragement from England. Both Gorges and Mason were too occupied with official duties during the war with France to devote any time or attention to their own affairs on the Piscataqua, and, furthermore, save for Thomson's abortive efforts, Sir Ferdinando's West Country neighbors had evinced a disappointingly slight interest in his projects.[3] The merchants and city corporations of Cornwall and Devonshire, engaged as they were in the lucrative business of promoting the north Atlantic fisheries, foresaw little gain and much expense in the financing of permanent colonies on the mainland, especially when Gorges, whose aim was not to promote a fishery but to be Governor-General of a great feudal principality, had reserved to himself and the Council for New England all fishing rights in Maine waters.[4]

Although they refused to accept the risk and responsibility of organizing permanent settlements, the West Country fishing interests demanded the right to participate in exploiting the resources of the Piscataqua region. In the same year in which Thomson and the Hiltons founded their settlements on the mainland, fishing vessels were being turned away from the Isles of Shoals "for want of convenient stage room." [5] In the years that followed, the fishermen, showing as little regard for patent rights as they had in Newfoundland, continued to build their sheds and drying racks on the Isles of Shoals and, upon better acquaintance with the advantages of the place, came in larger numbers than ever before. At Newfoundland, ice conditions determined the length of the fishing season, and fog, prevalent throughout the entire season, not only might

[3] C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (4 vols., New Haven, 1934–1938), I, 324–328, 334, 400–401.

[4] For a good account of the conflict between proprietary and fishing interests, with reference to Newfoundland, see R. G. Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634–1763* (New Haven, 1934), p. 38ff.

[5] J. S. Jenness, *The Isles of Shoals* (2nd ed., Boston, 1915), pp. 46–47, quoting Christopher Levett.

hinder the taking of the catch but could complicate the process of curing it as well. At the Isles of Shoals, on the other hand, it was possible to catch and cure fish at almost any time during the year. Warmer, sunnier weather moreover permitted a method of curing which produced a particular type of dried fish highly prized and priced accordingly in European markets.[6] Added to these natural advantages was the further attractive consideration that interlopers on the Isles of Shoals had little reason to fear the meddlesome activities of a proprietor's agent.

Suitable the Shoals may have been as headquarters for men inured to all the hardships of a fisherman's life, but as the manor of an English aristocrat they were scarcely more desirable than the Eddystone Rocks, off Sir Ferdinando's own native coast. And to settlers, bringing their wives and children to new homes in the New World, the prospect of dwelling on these bleak, inhospitable rocky isles would have been indeed cheerless. When the two proprietors, Gorges and Mason, again turned their attention toward New England, they therefore concentrated their efforts on the mainland and let the Isles of Shoals develop as they could. Since he and Gorges had, in 1629, divided their grant along the line of the Piscataqua River, Mason took over the sole responsibility of fostering the little settlement on Dover Point. During the next five years he succeeded in establishing it on a firm foundation. He sent over carpenters to build gristmills and sawmills, "servants" to take care of the fields and livestock, to make potash and tend the mills, and he sent "stewards" to watch over the carpenters and the servants. The supplies dispatched at various times by Mason on the good ship *Pied Cow,* whose name suggests a fairy tale rather than serious history, on the *James,* and on the *Lion's Whelp* indicate the type of life led by these early settlers at "Piscataqua in New England." Fishhooks, cod lines, sailcloth, caulking irons, cordage, and compasses afford proof of maritime enterprise and a trade with the Indians, the latter activity confirmed by the return ladings of beaver skins and other furs. To the early settlers, dependent on

[6] These were "dunfish," produced by drying the larger cod slowly with less than the usual amount of salt. The fish were then kept alternately under cover and in the sun until they were sufficiently mellow to satisfy the most discriminating taste. Raymond McFarland, *A History of the New England Fisheries* (New York, 1911), pp. 68–69; S. E. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* (2nd ed., Boston, 1941), p. 13.

Mason for many of their necessities, the arrival of each ship was undoubtedly a long-awaited and joyful event. They must have been especially cheered when, after an extremely lean year, the *Pied Cow* arrived in July, 1634, with a number of fine Denmark cattle and, among other things, some malt to be made into beer, and also with the carpenters and equipment for the much-needed mills.[7]

By this time there were about forty, and perhaps as many as seventy, men and women living on both banks of the Piscataqua.[8] One group had settled around the mouth of the river, some at Little Harbor near Thomson's old settlement, and one or two at the head of the harbor at "Strawberry Bank." Directly across the river from Strawberry Bank was another house or two, and below them, nearer the mouth of the harbor by two or three miles, was still another. This, the first house in what is now Kittery Point, had been built by Alexander Shapleigh, a Devonshire man, who with Arthur Champernowne, a brother-in-law of Gorges, owned almost all the land along the waterfront from Spruce Creek halfway to the York River. In addition to the group of settlements clustered around the harbor there was another which had as its nucleus the Hilton plantation on Dover Point. Within a year or two of building his first house, Shapleigh moved upstream to a tract of land he had acquired opposite Dover Point, and to this tract the name Kittery, which came from an estate owned by the Champernowne family in Shapleigh's native parish of Kingsweare, seems to have been first applied.[9] Six or seven miles farther upstream a third group was established at the falls of the river. Here were the mills, and here it was that the *Pied Cow* landed her cargo of livestock in 1634. Until the middle of the century, when a developing sea-borne trade increased the desirability of harbor-side land, these upper plantations seem to have been the largest of the three groups of settlements.

At mid-century the center of activity and population on the New

[7] Saltonstall, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11; Stackpole, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–23.

[8] Stackpole, *op. cit.*, p. 26; W. D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine* (2nd ed., 2 vols., Hallowell, Me., 1839), I, 661–696. Stackpole lists 58 men and 22 women "sent by John Mason, Esq.," but some of them apparently came after 1635. Williamson and Stackpole together list 33 men, women, and children whose arrival is specifically given as prior to 1635.

[9] Stackpole, *op. cit.*, p. 716; W. P. Randel, "Town Names of York County," *New England Quarterly*, XI (1938), 566.

Hampshire side of the river had shifted downstream to Strawberry Bank, now being called Portsmouth, where fifty or sixty families were living. But on the east side of the river the upper settlements were still the most populous. Of the forty or so houses in Kittery, to use the name under which all the settlements on the east bank had organized their town government in 1647, no more than fifteen fronted on the harbor.[10] Along the stretch of water known as Crooked Lane, Robert Cutt and John Diamond lived and built shallops and larger fishing vessels with lumber brought down from the mills upstream. Several neighbors were fishermen. At Kittery Point only six or seven houses had been raised in the fifteen years since Alexander Shapleigh built the first, in which William Hilton, as a tenant of his, now kept an ordinary. Two or three other houses stood nearby. Shapleigh's grandson owned one of them, but probably all were occupied by fishermen. Only three other houses had been built in Kittery Point before 1650: two of them by Arthur Champernowne's son, Francis, who had come to Piscataqua in 1637, and the other by John Pearce, a shipwright and mariner, who purchased a hundred acres of land from the Champernownes.[11] Pearce settled at the mouth of the creek leading to Braveboat Harbor.

The fact that two landowners—Alexander Shapleigh and Arthur Champernowne—held the bulk of the lands undoubtedly accounts for the slow initial growth of Kittery Point. Much of the land along the river, north of the harbor, had never been granted by Gorges; and as long as it lay open to anyone who chose to ignore the legal niceties of absentee proprietorship, Champernowne and Shapleigh found it difficult to dispose of their lands in Kittery Point. By the late fifties, however, most of the lands along the upper reaches of the river had been taken up or reserved for common, and Kittery Point could then develop more rapidly.

Although the houses in Kittery were "very mean ones," according to a visiting royal commission,[12] extreme poverty was as yet un-

[10] For Portsmouth's population in 1653, see E. B. Greene and V. D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), p. 73. The growth of Kittery can with some difficulty be traced in Stackpole, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–137.

[11] C. W. Tuttle, *Captain Francis Champernowne and Other Historical Papers* (Boston, 1889), p. 102.

[12] W. N. Sainsbury *et al.*, eds., *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series, America and West Indies* (35 vols., London, 1860–1939), 1661–1668, No. 1024 [hereafter cited as *Cal. St. Papers*].

known, or at least not recognized, in the town. The larger, more prosperous towns of Boston, Newport, and New Amsterdam had already acquired a pauper problem, and as early as 1662 Boston found the problem serious enough to warrant building an almshouse. Kittery, however, felt it unnecessary to consider a similar step until 1742.[13] One of the inhabitants who seems to have shifted about from one employ to another in the course of his forty years at Piscataqua finally became a public charge in 1684; [14] but his case, like that of two or three others on record, was one of age and infirmity rather than outright indigence.

If poverty was almost unknown in mid-century Kittery, so also was wealth. Among the founders of Boston and of Newport and later of Philadelphia were a few men with sufficient wealth to set up immediately as fairly large scale merchants. From the very beginning their activities gave a commercial character to the economic life of those towns and provided the material basis for an aristocratic class that in time dominated the social and political life.[15] Compared to these affluent town founders, the wealthiest settlers of Kittery were men of only modest means indeed. There were five men at the middle of the century—Francis Champernowne, Alexander Shapleigh, Nicholas Frost, Humphrey Chadbourne, and Robert Cutt—whose worldly estates raised them above the level of their neighbors. Three of them, Champernowne, Shapleigh, and Frost, were representative of the lesser English gentry. By inheritance, patent, or purchase they had acquired lands in the New World, and, taking their families and a servant or two with them, they had set out to resume in the New World the same life they had led in the Old. Humphrey Chadbourne, on the other hand, was an artisan, a member of the lower middle class in England. Sent over as a carpenter by Mason as early as 1631, he soon raised his status to that of landowner. By mid-century he was numbered among those considered prosperous according to the standards of a frontier community. When he died in 1667, he left an estate worth £1713 14*s*. The wealth of these men consisted almost entirely in land, in tracts

[13] Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness, 1625–1742* (New York, 1938), p. 80; Kittery Town Records, Book I, town meeting, May 17, 1742.

[14] Stackpole, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[15] Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–40, 96–97; T. J. Wertenbaker, *The First Americans, 1607–1690* (New York, 1927), pp. 71–72.

of one to two thousand acres.[16] They came to America in the hope or with the ambition of living the life of country squires, but the rude beams of their frontier garrison houses made rough foundations on which to establish a landed aristocracy. After 1650 the mast trade and a commerce with the sugar islands increased the estates of landowners; until then their lands yielded only a small return beyond mere subsistence.

When at last the pines and oaks of Piscataqua became important articles of trade, the greater profit went, not to the landowners, but to those who combined land with shipbuilding and commerce, as Robert Cutt and his two brothers did during the 1650's and as William Pepperrell and his sons were to do so successfully in later years.

The steps by which Robert Cutt and his brothers, Richard and John, established themselves at Piscataqua illustrate a process that became rather popular during the third quarter of the century. Richard and John first came to the Isles of Shoals, found employment in the fishery there, and then, after acquiring capital in the form of either property on the Shoals or a trade with Barbados or Boston, moved to the mainland and settled in Portsmouth where they became "very respectable and opulent" merchants and the largest landowners in the town. It is not at all certain that Robert Cutt came to the Isles of Shoals with his brothers, although he probably did. In any event, after a year or two in the West Indies he moved to Kittery and acquired some three hundred acres of land fronting on Crooked Lane, where he set up as a shipwright.[17] In 1674, when he died, his estate was valued at £890 9*s.* 4*d.* and included eight Negro slaves who had worked in his building yard.[18] For the Cutt brothers, and for others, too, the Isles of Shoals proved to be a threshold to a better living. They were a threshold over which many of the early comers to Kittery passed.

[16] Stackpole, *op. cit.,* pp. 20, 25, 107, 112–113, 312; W. M. Sargent, ed., *Maine Wills, 1640–1760* (Portland, Me., 1887), pp. 45–53; Tuttle, *op. cit.,* pp. 10, 74–75, 86–87, 108–111; R. S. Bartlett, "Alexander Shapleigh," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XCV (1941), 180–181.

[17] W. D. Williamson, *op. cit.,* I, 670; Nathaniel Adams, *Annals of Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1825), pp. 69–70; Jenness, *op. cit.,* pp. 86–87; C. W. Brewster, *Rambles about Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, N.H., Ser. 1, 1859, and Ser. 2, 1869), Ser. 1, p. 29.

[18] Sargent, ed., *Maine Wills,* p. 34; Saltonstall, *op. cit.,* p. 12.

Later on, at the turn of the century and after, most of the new arrivals would enter Kittery by the side door, from Newbury and Salem and other Massachusetts towns and from New Hampshire across the river; and even in the earlier years there were a few who approached the town from this direction. Among them was Hugh Gunnison, proprietor of a well-appointed Boston tavern, the King's Arms, at the head of Dock Square. In 1650 he sold his tavern for £200 and moved to Kittery, where he continued as an innkeeper not far from the old Shapleigh house. As owner of one of Boston's better taverns, Gunnison must have been a man of some importance there; in Kittery he was one of the foremost, a large landowner, a deputy to the General Court, and a member of the local bench.[19]

Why he left Boston town for a frontier village is one of those interesting questions in which, for lack of evidence, the historian must look to the mysteries of the cult of Psyche. The economic motive does not seem so compelling in Hugh Gunnison's case as it was in that of others. Nor does he seem to have come to Kittery for religious reasons. Perhaps he was dissatisfied with the increasingly rigid stratification of Boston society. Perhaps he followed the urging of his heart and not the dictates of economic necessity or of social and religious conviction. If, after some fifteen years of submission to Puritan theocracy, Hugh Gunnison had, however, suddenly decided that he had had his fill of religious regimentation, Kittery with a background quite unlike that of the Bay Colony would have been an understandable choice for a new home.

In their meager concern for theological dogma and church reform the West Countrymen of Piscataqua had little in common with the East Anglian Puritans of Massachusetts Bay. Gorges and Mason were no lovers of Puritanism. Religious differences undoubtedly intensified the disputes over boundaries and patent rights which embroiled the two proprietors and their heirs in almost constant dispute with the leaders of the Bay Colony and which trickled down to the settlers themselves. On one occasion during the 1630's open warfare very nearly broke out between the harbor settlements and a group of Puritan sympathizers who had settled upriver at the present town of Dover. Ready to enforce by strength of arms their respective claims to a certain point of land along the river,

[19] Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–109; Stackpole, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 61, 477.

armed bands from each settlement met face to face on the point in question. But, so the story goes, before the first shot was fired they sensibly decided "to waive battle," and ever since then the name Bloody Point has remained to commemorate the blood that might have been shed had the battle been fought. A few years later the men of the lower settlements again marched up to Dover with their guns in their hands, this time to thrust out the leader of the colony and its Puritan minister who were suspected of plotting to surrender Dover to the authority of the Massachusetts Bay. Whatever religious leanings the people of the harbor settlements may have had were in the direction of the Anglican Church. The first step towards organizing a parish was taken in 1639 when a minister came to Strawberry Bank from Richmond's Island, a fishing station some forty miles to the eastward; but his stay was brief, for in 1641 the New Hampshire settlements were gathered into the Puritan fold.[20]

Meanwhile, across the river the settlers seem to have been too busily engaged in establishing themselves to give much thought to church matters until 1649, when on October 16 the General Court of Maine declared

that all good people within the jurisdiction of this province who are out of a Church [of England] way and be orthodox in Judgement and not scandalous in life, shall have full liberty to gather themselves into a Church estate, provided they do it in a Christian way: with due observation of the rules of Christ revealed in his word: And every Church hath free liberty of election and ordination of all her officers from time to time provided they be able, pious and orthodox.[21]

The toleration explicit in this Act could have been effectively nullified had the General Court proceeded to say what constituted orthodoxy and to define all other views as "damnable heresies," to take, in other words, the same action that Massachusetts had with respect to a somewhat similar Act passed there a few years before. In Maine, however, the civil authorities did not undertake the responsibility of seeing to it that the "rules of Christ" were duly observed, nor did they condition the organizing of a church upon

[20] May, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 125–126, 131–133.

[21] Quoted from Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, I, 427. The brackets are in the original, the spelling of which I have modernized.

the approval of the civil magistrates or make church membership a prerequisite to the exercise of political rights. As a result there settled in Maine a number of those whose nonconformity barred them from the Puritan Zion. Henry Lynn, whose widow Hugh Gunnison later married, had been banished from Boston for vilifying the Church and government. He found a refuge east of the Piscataqua River along with Anne Hutchinson's brother-in-law, the Reverend John Wheelwright, and the notorious Thomas Morton of Merry Mount.[22] The religious environment in Maine was clearly not favorable to the growth of an organized Church or even of church organizations, and after 1652, when Massachusetts extended her jurisdiction over the settlements in Maine, any churches formally organized there had to meet the approval of the Puritan authorities. All efforts of Massachusetts to suppress the activities of itinerant preachers and to require the people of Maine to support regular ministers encountered procrastination and noncompliance. Kittery took no steps towards settling a minister until 1660, when for this purpose the inhabitants agreed to divide the town into three parishes.[23] But they did nothing more; and after Massachusetts resumed authority following the brief interval during which Maine was under royal control, the town was presented at the General Court at least six times in ten years for failing to provide a minister and for neglecting the religious instruction of its children.[24] In spite of all their efforts the Massachusetts authorities did not entirely succeed in creating a theological monopoly in Maine, for as early as 1663 the doctrines of George Fox were being expounded to the people of Kittery. Twice in that year a town constable was ordered to the home of Alexander Shapleigh's son Nicholas, one of the town's leading inhabitants, to forbid him to entertain Quakers and to prevent them from meeting in his house.[25] Official displeasure did not, however, wean him from the principles of the Friends, nor did it deter the townspeople from choosing Shapleigh and two other Quakers, Richard Nason and James Heard, as selectmen six years later—although the County Court, to be sure, promptly dismissed them from office.[26]

[22] C. H. Pope, *The Pioneers of Maine and New Hampshire* (Boston, 1908), pp. 127, 143–144, 229–230; W. D. Williamson, op. cit., I, 293–294.

[23] Kittery Town Records, Book I, town meeting, July 17, 1660.

[24] Stackpole, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, 189, 195. [25] W. D. Williamson, *op. cit.*, I, 380n.

[26] Kittery Town Records, Book I, town meeting, July 24, 1669.

In 1660, ten years after Hugh Gunnison's arrival, Kittery could still offer haven to those fleeing from religious persecution. Some of the English Puritans who left their mother country immediately after the Restoration, between 1660 and 1662, may have been persuaded to settle in Kittery, rather than in Boston, by the very fact that Maine was only nominally a part of the Puritan Commonwealth. For these refugees were fleeing the triumph of Presbyterianism over Independency. To many of them the theocrats of the Boston General Court must have seemed not unlike the Presbyters of the Convention Parliament.

At some time during these years John Bray, the future father-in-law of the first William Pepperrell, came to Kittery seeking "the free enjoyment of his religious principles." [27] A native of Plymouth, England, and a shipwright by trade, he found the harbor shores of Kittery Point more to his liking than the timbered ridges and rolling fields of upper Kittery. Nicholas Shapleigh was now beginning to dispose of his Kittery Point lands, and in September, 1662, John Bray purchased from him twelve acres at the eastern end of a shallow cove facing the mouth of the harbor.[28] Here on a gentle slope, about a hundred yards from the water, he built a home for his family. His two-story clapboard house with its steep-pitched roof and central chimney still stands as the nucleus of several modern appendages. Down in front of the house were his wharf and building yard.

The next two decades were years of busy activity for the shipwrights of Piscataqua. Fishing voyages to the Grand Banks, combined with trading at Newfoundland, now began to compete with the small-craft fisheries on the Isles of Shoals, and lumbering began to compete with the fisheries. In 1671, according to Robert Tufton Mason, there were exported from Piscataqua ten shiploads of masts, twenty thousand tons of pine boards and pipe staves, and ten thousand quintals of fish. By 1680 approximately fifty vessels were entering the harbor each year, bringing salt from Tortuga, wine and brandy from Spain, and sugar from the Leeward Islands.[29] In his yard at Kittery Point, John Bray was turning out vessels for the merchants across the harbor, for fishermen at York and perhaps at

[27] Obituary notice of his daughter Margery Pepperrell, quoted from Usher Parsons, *The Life of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart.* (3rd ed., Boston, 1856), pp. 18–19.

[28] Stackpole, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[29] Saltonstall, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 17.

the Shoals, as well as for the local mariners of Kittery. One vessel that he contracted to build in 1674 was to have two decks, to be "burthen 80 tons upwards, not under, . . . 50 foot per keel and by beam 17 foot and in hold 9 foot." It was to cost the owners, two fishermen of York, £3 5*s*. per ton, to be paid one-quarter in money and the remainder in "fish, provisions, and Barbados goods, and English goods." [30]

That the trade of the region followed the general pattern of colonial commerce is confirmed by these commodities that passed for money in payment of the vessel, but the commodities do not, of course, reveal the actual lines of trade. The "English goods" might have been brought over on one of the mast ships or come by way of Newfoundland or Boston. Likewise the sugar, rum, and molasses which by this time had supplanted cotton and tobacco as the principal "Barbados goods" could have come either direct or by way of Boston. There were, however, close personal ties between some of the people of Kittery and the island of Barbados which seem to have been the basis of direct commercial relations. John Bray's next-door neighbor, Thomas Langley, had been a merchant at Barbados before he moved to Kittery Point. Robert Cutt had lived and traded and married in Barbados. Later, his brother-in-law, John Hole, came to Kittery and carried on a trade with the island from his home on Spruce Creek. Robert Cutt, Jr., appears to have maintained connections with his mother's family, for in 1714 he, or his nephew Robert, commanded a brigantine of William Pepperrell's bound for Barbados with cargo consigned to Benjamin and Joseph Hole.[31]

John Bray prospered and increased his landholdings. Four years after he first set up as a shipwright at the Point, he bought another twelve acres adjoining his original lot, and sometime later he bought a farm at Braveboat Harbor, at the head of the creek separating Cutt's Island from the mainland. With several town grants amounting to fifty-five acres on Spruce Creek, north of Crockett's Neck, his holdings totaled perhaps 150 acres. Besides his lands in Kittery,

[30] Contract between Capt. John Davess, John Penwill, and John Bray, Jan. 29, 1674, W. M. Sargent *et al.*, eds., *York Deeds* (18 vols., Portland and Bethel, Me., 1887–1910), III, fol. 23.

[31] Stackpole, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 69, 536; accounts of the brigantine *Mary*, 1714, Maine Historical Society MSS., Pepperrell Papers (hereafter cited as MeHS MSS.), Book I.

Bray owned a house in his native Plymouth from which he continued to receive an annual rent, and his building yard at the Point was well equipped with the "tools, Instruments and tackling" that went with his trade. His estate, valued at £306 10*s.* when he died in 1690, was modest compared to those of Humphrey Chadbourne and Robert Cutt, but it was considerably above the average. Of the twenty-five Kittery estates for which valuations were returned prior to 1700, only four were larger than Bray's. There were two or three others, including those of Francis Champernowne and Charles Frost, that probably also exceeded his; but no inventories were returned for them.[32]

He soon began to receive his share of the town offices, which even then were reserved for the men of estate. Within a decade of his coming to Kittery his neighbors acknowledged Bray's standing in the community by appointing him one of the selectmen of the town.[33] The choice indicates not only his social position but also the confidence with which his fellow townspeople accepted his judgment, for among the major responsibilities of the selectmen were, first, apportioning the town lands and, second, confirming titles which for one reason or another were of doubtful authenticity. The latter was an especially involved matter by reason of the successive changes in the government under which the people of Kittery had acquired their lands. If disputes with the authorities were to be avoided, if malice and rancor were to be averted, John Bray and the other selectmen must have had to approach their task with utmost impartiality and punctiliousness.

Not long after he settled at Kittery Point a surge of opposition to the Massachusetts government moderately excited the people of Piscataqua; but on this disturbing question of whether Massachusetts, or the King, or the heirs of Gorges should govern Maine, John Bray seems not to have taken a stand. He did on one occasion join his neighbors Thomas Langley and Roger Dearing and a number of others in petitioning the General Court of Massachusetts on behalf of a certain minister whose orthodoxy was questioned

[32] Kittery Town Records, Book I, Sept. 24, 1685, records a survey of Bray's town grants. See also Stackpole, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Bray's will is in Sargent, ed., *Maine Wills*, pp. 88–90.

[33] Kittery Town Records, Book I, selectmen's meeting, Sept. 5, 1671.

by the Puritan authorities; but the matter does not appear to have been pressed after the Assistants gave their opinion that the Reverend Mr. Wells could not "discern between sound and unsound doctrine" and on these grounds forbade him to do any further preaching.[34] Bray's fellow selectmen, Charles Frost, was one of the more conspicuous of the Massachusetts party. He figured prominently in the events that had brought Kittery under the jurisdiction of the Bay Colony in 1652 and for five years represented the town at the General Court in Boston.[35] Francis Champernowne and Nicholas Shapleigh, on the other hand, were clearly identified with the opposition. As a recent arrival, however, John Bray was probably too busy to take an active part and not sufficiently well established to bear much weight in the controversy. By the time he became a selectman the political waters had somewhat calmed down, and the Bostonians were again on the quarterdeck.

In the field of local affairs the Massachusetts government permitted Kittery to keep several privileges not enjoyed by the towns of Massachusetts proper. All inhabitants were admitted as freemen regardless of church membership, and the administering of the law was continued in the hands of local civil magistrates. Gorges, in attempting to reproduce a more exact facsimile of England than that of the Puritans, had transported to Maine one of the essentials of English judicial administration that had become in England a basic institution of the squirearchy, namely, the system of local justice dispensed by a local magistrate, the Justice of the Peace. Although not extended to the rest of Massachusetts until 1691, the system was continued in Maine, under some restrictions, by the terms of the submission of 1652. And about the time of his election as selectman, John Bray was named a magistrate of Kittery.[36]

Whatever John Bray contributed, either as magistrate or shipwright, to his circumscribed frontier environment was far less permanent than the house he built. He is indebted, for his resur-

[34] Stackpole, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[35] James Sullivan, *The History of the District of Maine* (Boston, 1795), p. 189; W. D. Williamson, *op. cit.*, I, 451n.

[36] W. D. Williamson, *op. cit.*, I, 356, II, 14–16; Stackpole, *op. cit.*, p. 42. For the terms of the agreement of 1652 between the inhabitants of Kittery and the government of Massachusetts, see J. P. Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine* (Portland, Me., 1889), IV, 25–31.

rection from obscurity, to the fact that his daughter Margery happened to marry a fisherman from the Isles of Shoals whose highly successful mercantile career later spread out beyond Piscataqua and to the fact that a successful military interlude in the life of Margery's son by chance preserved a portion of the record of the two William Pepperrells. Bray's place in history rests on one of the contingencies of parenthood.

He must have given considerable thought to the matrimonial possibilities of his two older daughters, Joan and Margery. There was, of course, Clement Dearing. He was about their age, a son of John Bray's neighbor Roger Dearing, who had brought his family from Scarboro, near the present city of Portland, just a few years after the Brays came to Kittery and who had settled a half mile or so to the east of the Bray house. Joseph Pearce, who lived immediately beyond the Dearings, was another prospective son-in-law. His parents, early settlers at the Point, had died not long before, leaving him in sufficient circumstances to qualify as a suitor. Then, too, there was Joseph Couch, who had for a time worked in John Bray's boatyard and afterwards acquired some land for himself nearby. Any one of the three young men would have been a good match for either of the Bray daughters; but Joseph Pearce went to sea and like many another never returned, and Joseph Couch married one of the Dearing girls.[37] Nevertheless John Bray did not have long to speculate, for in 1679 or thereabouts Joan Bray's marriage to Clement Dearing united the two neighboring families. Margery could not have been too worried about her own chances; she was about nineteen years old and, judging from her portrait painted in later years, an attractive girl. She would bring an adequate dowry. There were other eligible bachelors among the families of Kittery, and more were moving in from the Isles of Shoals.

[37] On the Dearings, see Stackpole, *op. cit.*, pp. 338–339; on Joseph Pearce, see Sargent *et al.*, eds., *York Deeds,* III, fols. 12, 39, V, fol. 9; on Joseph Couch, see Stackpole, *op. cit.*, p. 329, and deposition of Thomas Dearing, April 24, 1711, in Boston Public Library MS. Colls., doc. No. E-11-38. Evidence in C. T. Libby and R. E. Moody, eds., *Province and Court Records of Maine* (3 vols., Portland, Me., 1928–1947), III, 66, 72, suggests that Margery Bray had been engaged to Joseph Pearce.

⚓ CHAPTER II

The Coming of William Pepperrell

⚓ THE fisheries at the Isles of Shoals were at high tide during the years when John Bray was busily launching fishing vessels and a family. The population of the Shoals had increased by 1670 to approximately five hundred people, several of whom were worth from £400 to something more than £700, and perhaps fifteen hundred men found temporary employment at the peak of the fishing season. A town government was organized, and a meetinghouse was erected on Smuttynose in competition with the numerous alehouses.[1] But during the seventies the ebb set in. The population dropped. The Shoals began to decline.[2] The incidence of the decline suggests political factors as a partial explanation, for the northern islands, which belonged to Maine, suffered the greater loss of population. Many inhabitants of Smuttynose and Appledore moved across the New Hampshire boundary to Star Island at a time when Massachusetts was securing her hold on Maine by purchasing the claims of the Gorges heirs, while at the same time losing New Hampshire. Equally important, if not more so, was the expansion of the New England fisheries to the banks of Newfoundland.[3] Prior to 1670, when the private preserve of the New England fishermen stretched only from Georges Bank off Cape Cod to the ledges off the coast of Maine, the Isles of Shoals profited by their location; but

[1] W. D. Williamson, *op. cit.,* I, 401; Jenness, *op. cit.,* pp. 82–84; Saltonstall, *op. cit.,* p. 14.

[2] Jenness, *op. cit.,* pp. 105–106.

[3] McFarland, *op. cit.,* pp. 62–64, 70–71. Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland,* pp. 192–193, also describes the expansion of the New England fisheries at this time.

when the voyages began to extend to the Newfoundland and Cape Breton banks, the Shoals lost their geographical advantage. Furthermore, a vessel that intended, as some of them soon did, to combine fishing on the Grand Bank with trading at Newfoundland would have had difficulty assembling the usual cargo of boards, beef, bread, and other provisions at the Isles of Shoals. Twenty years earlier the Shoals had been a port of call for men of long ambition and short means. In the mid-seventies when William Pepperrell arrived on the New England coast, they still offered an opportunity of a sort, but had he landed ten years later he would have found them almost as barren of opportunities as of soil.

It is very likely that William Pepperrell came to the Isles of Shoals by way of Newfoundland, after some experience in the fisheries there.[4] The migration of fishermen and seamen from Newfoundland to the continental colonies was already becoming a matter of serious concern to the English.[5] Nothing would have been more natural for a Devonshire lad than to spend an apprenticeship in a fishing vessel voyaging to the Newfoundland banks. Other Pepperrells had followed the sea. A namesake of William's served in the *Eagle,* of Colchester; another Pepperrell, one Nicholas, rose to command a slaver of the Royal African Company. But their connection with the emigrant William Pepperrell rests on conjecture. His parents, Andrew and Joan, lived in Revelstoke, a village some six miles southeast of Plymouth on the Devon coast. On September 5, 1648, three years after their marriage, their son William was baptized in the neighboring parish of Yealmpton.[6] He seems to have been the only son. At least two, possibly three, daughters were born to Andrew and Joan, and for many years after he went to America, William maintained an affectionate if intermittent correspondence with one of his nieces.[7]

4 Parsons, *op. cit.,* p. 2. As to the date of his arrival Parsons vaguely indicates 1675 or 1676. Nathaniel Adams, *op. cit.,* p. 163, gives it as "about 1676." The date 1660 given in Stackpole, *op. cit.,* p. 649, is obviously a typographical error, for in the same work, p. 283, it is given as "about 1675."

5 Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland,* pp. 190–191; also by the same author, "Yankee Trade at Newfoundland," *New England Quarterly,* III (1930), 620.

6 The author is indebted to Mr. Algernon Pepperell of London for first pointing out the Revelstoke origin of William Pepperrell. William's baptismal record can be found in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XCVI (1942), 91.

7 Mary Nichols to Wm. Pepperrell, Revelstoke, May, 15, 1722, Massachusetts His-

He was in his late twenties when he first landed on the Isles of Shoals, with probably little capital except his own ability and ambition. In partnership with a fellow West Countryman he seems to have taken small shares in fishing voyages and to have gradually increased his investment until he became the principal owner of a vessel or two. These earliest Pepperrell "vessels" might have been open shallops, of fifteen or twenty tons, such as John Bray or any other boatbuilder would have sold for about twenty shillings per ton.[8] Within a few years his partner went off and invested his profits in land rights in the Muscongus Patent. William was ready, also, to leave the Shoals, but the charms of Margery Bray of Kittery Point were for him a stronger magnet than all the cheap lands to the eastward.[9]

They were married in 1680. To their good fortune, John Bray's neighbor, Thomas Langley, chose this moment to sell off his harborside property. William acquired from him a parcel of land adjoining his father-in-law's place at the Point; in all likelihood Margery and William Pepperrell made their first home with the Brays while William got his mercantile career off to a good start and Margery initiated a family. Two years after they were married, John Bray gave an acre of his land to William for a house lot. It lay between the Bray house and the land William had already acquired from Thomas Langley, and there, on a "plain place near the highway," William Pepperrell built a home for himself, his wife, and his year-old son.[10] It was a square, two-story house, somewhat bigger than Margery's former home, with a sharp-pitched roof and with a large chimney at each end. A spacious central hall, flanked by two rooms on each side, extended from the front entrance to the back of the house, where a low door under the stair landing opened on what was to be the garden and beyond it William's "Great Orchard." [11] No "captain's walk" was necessary, for from his front

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torical Society MSS., Pepperrell Papers (hereafter cited as MHS MSS.); Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–3, assigns three daughters to Andrew and Joan Pepperrell.

[8] W. B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England* (2 vols., Boston, 1890), I, 367, gives the price of a "small craft" of 20 tons as £20 in 1686.

[9] Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4, is the sole source of information concerning Wm. Pepperrell's early years on the Isles of Shoals.

[10] Deed of John Bray to Wm. Pepperrell, Nov. 17, 1682, Sargent *et al.*, eds., *York Deeds*, III, fol. 121.

[11] Photographs of the Bray House and "Pepperrell Mansion" are to be found in J. M. Howells, *The Architectural Heritage of the Piscataqua* (New York, c. 1937), figs. 166–167, 169–171.

Colonel William Pepperrell (c.1647–1734)
The First Generation

The Pepperrell Mansion, Kittery Point
Built 1682

windows William could look out over the entire lower harbor and follow his vessels as they entered or cleared the mouth of the river; on clear days he could see the Isles of Shoals floating on the surface of the water beyond. Heavily wooded Champernowne's Island and the hills behind Braveboat Harbor protected the cove on which William's house stood from the blustery northeasters that frequently made the approach to the harbor difficult, while the force of the occasional southwest storms broke against the outer shores of Great Island, later named New Castle, and of Odiorne's Point. Pepperrell's Cove, as it is now known, was a safe anchorage in almost any weather.

On July 1, 1681, their first child was born, a son, whom they named for his grandfather Andrew. In the next twenty years Margery would do her expected duty toward her husband by bearing him six daughters and another son, but William was to wait four years after Andrew arrived before a second child, a daughter, made her appearance. Again he waited four years, and another daughter arrived. Three years later there came a third daughter, followed after only two years by a fourth one. By this time William must have been indeed thankful that their first-born had been a son. They had now been married fourteen years; William was getting along past his mid-forties; and of their five children there was only one to carry on the business and the name of Pepperrell. Then on June 27, 1696, at William's busiest time of the year and in the midst of all the distress arising out of the Indian wars, their sixth child was born. It was a boy; and they named him William Pepperrell, Jr.

Margery soon got back on her course, however, and brought forth two more daughters before the family was complete. In happy contrast to the experience of many mothers of that day, Margery's children all lived to marry and have children of their own; before she died, in 1741, her eight sons and daughters had presented her with a total of fifty grandchildren.[12]

The Kittery into which William Pepperrel, Jr., was born had at least tripled its population in the preceding half century. By 1696

[12] The foregoing genealogical data have been compiled from C. H. C. Howard, *The Pepperrell's in America* (Salem, Mass., 1906), from scattered references and the pedigrees listed in Stackpole, *op. cit.,* and from a chart of the "Massachusetts Pepperrells" sent to the author by Mr. Algernon Pepperell.

it had become a town of eight or nine hundred people scattered over an area of 125 square miles. It was not a compact community built up, according to the New England pattern, around a village green and surrounded by outlying fields. Instead, Kittery was a string of isolated farmhouses and small hamlets that stretched for twenty miles along a well-used highway, the Piscataqua River, and straggled back along a number of lesser "side roads," the most populated of which were Spruce Creek and Sturgeon Creek. At the turn of the century the center of population had moved down from upper Kittery to that part of town lying below Sturgeon Creek, where from 70 to 75 per cent of the people lived in approximately 25 per cent of the town's area. This strikingly unequal distribution of population can be partly accounted for by upper Kittery's vulnerability to Indian attacks and particularly by the severe blow suffered by that section of the town in 1690, when more than eighty inhabitants of upper Kittery were killed or captured and most of the houses and buildings destroyed.[13] At the end of Queen Anne's War, in 1713, upper Kittery had so far recovered as to have a part set off as the separate town of Berwick, and yet just prior to the division 63 per cent of Kittery's population still lived below Sturgeon Creek.[14]

The separation of Berwick was typical of the experience that New England towns frequently encountered as a result of some intramunicipal dispute concerning the availability of the town's meetinghouse, the support of the minister, or the quality of his sermons. Although the inhabitants of Berwick may have had some reason to complain on these grounds, the division probably reflected the growing divergence of economic interests between the different parts of the town. The farther one went upriver, the more concerned the people were with lumbering and farming, and the less interested they were in maritime ventures. The best farming land and, with a few exceptions, the largest holdings were to be found in upper and middle Kittery. In 1712 a committee appointed in town meeting for the purpose of estimating the "yearly income of the

[13] W. D. Williamson, *op. cit.*, I, 618, 623.

[14] The estimate of Kittery's population and its distribution is based on the number and location of freeholders named in the three land divisions of 1694, 1699, and 1703; on a list of freeholders given in a report dated Sept. 1, 1712, Kittery Town Records, Book II; and on data in Stackpole, *op. cit.*, chap. iii–viii, *passim*.

real estates of the several freeholders" of Kittery gave first place to Ichabod Plaisted of Berwick whose income amounted to £100. Charles Frost, who also lived above Sturgeon Creek, was second with £50. Of the twenty-two men and estates that derived incomes of £20 or more from landholdings, eight, including the two highest and one of the two who shared third place, belonged north of Sturgeon Creek. Six, including the other third-ranking man, came from middle Kittery, between Sturgeon Creek and the lower end of Long Reach. Of the remaning eight men, only three represented Kittery Point. They were William Pepperrell and Robert Eliot, who shared fourth place with incomes of £30, and Richard Cutt, whose lands brought him £25 yearly. Only seven of the sixty-four freeholders of Kittery Point received incomes of £10 or more from land; whereas in the Berwick section twenty-six of the fifty-seven freeholders were in this category. In January, 1713, the town decided to revive an old order requiring anyone who wished to fell pine or oak trees "fit for mill logs or ship timber" to obtain the town's permission and added the further requirement that anyone so licensed must pay a fee to the town treasury of twelve pence for every tree he wished to cut. Of the ten "dissenters" to the vote, eight came from the Berwick section.[15]

Most of the landholdings, although perhaps not the most extensive ones, had been acquired in the several divisions of town lands and by individual town grants. Nearly eleven thousand acres, in grants averaging about forty-five acres, were parceled out in the three final divisions. In 1694, 2115 acres were distributed in holdings that ranged from ten to sixty acres in size; in 1699, 3853 acres were disposed of in slightly larger grants; and in 1703, 5015 acres were granted in parcels ranging from ten to a hundred acres each. In the three divisions a total of 346 grants were made to 245 individuals, including one of fifty acres to "Black Will, Negro."[16] A newcomer to Kittery at the turn of the century could hardly expect a town grant—after 1703 no further divisions and only a few individual grants were made—but he could purchase land at low

[15] Report dated Sept. 1, 1712, Kittery Town Records, Book II; Kittery Town Records, freeholders meeting, Jan. 26, 1713. The list of freeholders and their incomes is also printed in Stackpole, *op. cit.*, pp. 149–151.

[16] Kittery Town Records, Book I, town meetings of May 16, 1694, May 24, 1699, May 10, 1703.

prices that varied from £6 for forty-five acres of upland and meadow on Crockett's Neck to £13 for half an acre, including a house and orchard, on the harbor.[17]

The difference between Kittery Point and Berwick was, however, mainly one of emphasis, not of economic specialization. The shipwrights and mariners of Kittery Point lived on what they described as their small farms and subsisted partly on the produce of their lands. But their income, in the form of an exchangeable surplus, came from their maritime activities and not from their lands. The farmers of upper Kittery, on the other hand, derived their income from their lands and frequently sent their surplus sons to sea. However, evidence of a fishing voyage to Newfoundland as a diversion from farming is less readily found than that of land ownership and agricultural enterprise as a supplement to seafaring; and for this reason the "economic man" of upper Kittery perhaps seems a less dimorphic creature than his lower Kittery counterpart. One might infer from the lands and chattels they disposed of in their wills that Robert Cutt and John Bray were farmers. Both had sufficient property to qualify as yeomen, but neither called himself one.

Official records of seventeenth-century New England reveal a widespread use of social designations. In Kittery, however, such designations were not employed with any regularity until the very end of the century, after the new Massachusetts charter restricted the franchise to those of yeoman status or better, and not until the 1720's did the usage become prevalent. Until then, a man whose lands brought him a yeoman's forty shillings often ignored the rank when he drew up a deed or wrote his will. In the twenty years before 1701, only six wills, of a total of twenty-two recorded, gave the testator's social rank. In the next twenty years, sixteen of a total of thirty-three wills designated the social rank of the testator, and from 1728 to 1760 every will did so. The more numerous deeds confirm the trend. Furthermore, a man's rank frequently varied. Richard Cutt, for example, was named as a yeoman in three deeds, as a Gentleman in two, and as plain Richard Cutt in one. Francis Champernowne, whose right to the title of Gentleman was by virtue of lineage unqualified, wavered between that rank and Esquire.

[17] Joseph Crockett *et ux.* to Wm. Pepperrell, Jan. 2, 1699, Sargent *et al.*, eds., *York Deeds,* IV, fol. 150; John Brawn *et ux.* to Wm. Pepperrell, July 18, 1698, *ibid.,* fol. 130.

Nor was a man's designated "quality" an indication necessarily of his economic status. Joshua Downing, husbandman, had an annual income from his lands of £25 and left an estate worth over £600, whereas Peter Staple, yeoman, had an income of but £12 and left an estate of only £18. Except for the Justices of the Peace, to whom the title Esquire was invariably accorded, and except for Kittery's few Ministers of the Gospel, who were always addressed as Mr. (which might mean either Mister or Master), the only townspeople upon whom a title was conferred with any measure of precision and consistency were the officers of the York militia. In town records and private correspondence as well, a militia officer was almost always referred to or addressed by his military rank.[18]

In Kittery, as elsewhere in the colonies, a militia command seems to have been a mark of social standing, but at the same time it was far from being a sinecure. King Philip's War, in which the town lost a dozen or so inhabitants, had just ended when William Pepperrell, Sr., came to Kittery Point. When William, Jr., arrived in the family, another Indian war was raging. At its outbreak the government in Boston had dispatched not quite two hundred soldiers to the Maine frontier. More than half of them were sent to Falmouth, and the rest were split up into small parties of three to six men to reinforce the settlements from Kittery to Cape Elizabeth. It was obviously hoped that the settlements in Maine, except for Falmouth, would rely upon their own inhabitants for defense. At Kittery Point, William Pepperrell made his house into a garrison.[19] The destructive assault on upper Kittery, the surrender of Fort Loyal at Falmouth, the abandonment of the Cape Elizabeth, Scarboro, and Saco settlements, the destruction of the greater part of York, and further sharp attacks against Kittery and Wells produced discouragement and a series of petitions for help. Major Frost, commander of Maine's militia, pointed out to the Boston authori-

[18] Sargent *et al.*, eds., *York Deeds,* Vols. I–II; Sargent, ed., *Maine Wills;* Kittery Town Records, Books I–II. For the incomes of the men referred to, see the report cited in note 15. The author has found no evidence that the title of yeoman was used by anyone listed in the report whose income did not entitle him to that rank. On the subject of social designations, see N. H. Dawes, "Titles as Symbols of Prestige in Seventeenth-Century New England," *William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. VI (Jan., 1949).

[19] Report of Massachusetts commissioners on Maine garrisons, April 30, 1690, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XXXVI, No. 52. This report also gives the number and disposition of soldiers sent to Maine.

ties that all the towns in Maine were "frontiers to the enemy" and asserted that not one could defend itself. There was, he said, great danger of losing the Piscataqua if the French attacked by sea, as there were not sufficient men to defend the garrison houses let alone man the fort on Great Island. Another attack would, he continued, "necessitate those of the outplaces that escape, to desert and leave all to the enemy." [20] A few of the townspeople did "desert" in the face of repeated attacks, although the General Court had in the meantime ordered the inhabitants of Kittery and other frontier towns not to leave, under penalty of imprisonment or confiscation of their lands. Those who stayed to fight suffered heavily. Some sixty inhabitants, among them Major Frost, were killed, and a like number captured; twenty-five or perhaps thirty houses were burned; and a large number of cattle and quantities of provisions were destroyed. It was, for Kittery, the most disastrous of all the Indian wars.[21]

Between 1694 and 1704 the Governor and the General Court of Massachusetts were the target for a steady fire of complaints and demands directed against them by the selectmen of Kittery. All were of the same tenor: that the townspeople had been put to such heavy expense during the wars that they could not pay their province tax or support a minister. "We are," they protested in 1704, "a poor scattered People, necessitated to watch, ward, Scout, build Garrisons and fortifications . . . all at our own charge." In one of the previous years the selectmen took note of the fact that the warrant for assessing the tax exempted all who were unable, "through age, infirmity, or Poverty . . . to contribute to the public charge" and they promptly reported that all the inhabitants of Kittery came "under one of those denominations." "Watching and warding and scouting," they wrote, "exposes all unto Poverty enough; for 'tis always with our own arms, our own ammunition, our own provision." If they were not confined here by an Act of the General Court, the selectmen threatened, "we should quickly and unanimously pluck up Stakes and be gone, and betake ourselves to some other place where we might live, tho' poorly, yet

[20] Maj. Charles Frost and others, [to the General Court], Portsmouth, March 26, 1690, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, No. 371a.

[21] W. D. Williamson, *op. cit.*, I, 618–648; Stackpole, *op. cit.*, chap. x.

safely and securely." Perhaps they thought that their complaint had a suggestion of temerity which might not conduce to the success of their petition, for the selectmen added that, besides all this, "necessity is laid upon us to uphold the ministry amongst us, that we may not perish for lack of vision; and that is more than we are able to do." [22] Some among them may have wondered which was the greater calamity, the necessity of upholding a ministry or their inability to do so.

The petitions probably reflected Kittery's long-standing differences with the Massachusetts government more accurately than they described the town's competence or incompetence to pay its proportion of the province tax. The political insubordination of earlier years had, for the most part, disappeared, but more than a trace of religious nonconformity remained. William Pepperrell, Sr., had arrived at Kittery Point to find the town entertaining a group of heretics, just as his father-in-law had twenty years before. Under the lead of William Scriven and his brother-in-law, Richard Cutt, a group of townspeople had for some time been meeting privately to hold Baptist services, and in the fall of 1682 they organized a church despite the fact that earlier in the year William Scriven had been fined for "tending to blasphemy" in his preaching. The church did not last long, for some of the Kittery Baptists soon moved to South Carolina and others probably joined their New Hampshire brethren in founding the town of Piscataway, New Jersey. As in the case of Nicholas Shapleigh and the Quakers, the town did not hold William Scriven's and Richard Cutt's apostasy against them. Richard Cutt afterward served as selectman at least eight times. William Scriven is supposed to have gone to the Cooper River with those of his church who left Kittery, but if he did, he must have returned after Massachusetts' new charter became effective, for in 1693 he was chosen on two important town committees and acted as moderator of the town meeting in the two years following. In 1694 Kittery chose him their representative to the General Court. Both men were among those who petitioned for an abate-

[22] Petition of town of Kittery, June 18, 1694; petition from York and Kittery to the Lieutenant Governor and Council, Sept., 1695; petition of Kittery selectmen to the Lieutenant Governor and Council, April 13, 1697; in Massachusetts Archives, Vol. III, Nos. 378, 180, and 385. Petition dated Dec. 28, 1704, Stackpole, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–175.

ment of Kittery's province tax. By 1699 Scriven was definitely living in South Carolina.[23]

In 1683, a year after the Baptists organized their short-lived church, upper Kittery voted £50 towards building a house for the Reverend Mr. John Emerson who, it would seem, had already been preaching in upper Kittery for a year or two. Apparently the town located his house lot where it was felt a minister's presence was most needed, for Mr. Emerson's lot was laid out at an intersection on the road to Wells known then by the name of Slut's Corner.[24] This was Kittery's first provision for supporting a regular minister.

Lower Kittery was even more tardy in providing for the spiritual well-being of its inhabitants. In 1694 the lower part of town, "legally warned in order to the settling of a minister," voted to pay £45 a year plus an allowance of £15 for board as a salary for a minister. He was to preach one Sunday "at the Point meeting house" and the next "at some convenient place at the Long Reach." A Mr. John Newmarch accepted the terms and came to Kittery Point on what seems to have been a rather precarious appointment, for the following year lower Kittery had to be again legally warned to continue Mr. Newmarch. However, the town ordered that he be paid the salary previously voted, and thereafter, for more than half a century, Mr. Newmarch was shepherd of the flock at Kittery Point.[25]

In Massachusetts the Puritan colonists had brought with them the view, typical of the Protestant urban middle class in England, that education provided "the key to godly life and worldly success." [26] Schools very early came to be looked upon as bulwarks of theocracy. The minister and the schoolmaster were the twin nuclei on which the intellectual life of the New England town centered, and just as each town was expected to provide for a minister, so every town of at least fifty householders was required to support a schoolmaster. But Kittery differed from the representative New England town in mental outlook as well as in physical development.

[23] W. D. Williamson, *op. cit.*, I, 569–570; Stackpole, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–208. The town offices held by Richard Cutt and Wm. Scriven are to be found in the minutes of town meetings, Kittery Town Records, Book I. See also Libby and Moody, eds., *op. cit.*, III, xxxiv–xxxviii.

[24] Stackpole, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[25] Kittery Town Records, Book I, town meetings of Feb. 13, 1694, and May 13, 1695.

[26] Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

In Kittery the key to worldly success lay in the skillful handling of an axe or a cod line; and as for the godly life, most of the inhabitants belonged to the "seafaring Tribe," whose general depravity was well known to Cotton Mather's congregation. To the townspeople of Kittery the need of supporting a schoolmaster was less urgent than, and the expense just as prohibitive as, that of settling a minister, so it was not until 1716 that the town voted to appoint a schoolmaster. In May of that year Kittery's first schoolmaster was hired at a yearly salary of £42.[27] Until that time the youth of Kittery were limited to the instruction they received from Mr. Newmarch and his fellow ministers or to the little they acquired at home. Kittery's two "learned professions," surveying and navigation, required a certain amount of arithmetical knowledge, which was used interchangeably in either pursuit and seems to have been passed on from father to son. John Wincoll, Jr., whose father, a landowner of Berwick, had for many years been the town surveyor, went to sea and became the master of one of William Pepperrell's vessels; and William Pepperrell, Jr., for many years served as surveyor of highways. But the lack of formal schooling was, for many, a handicap which was never completely overcome.

Such was the Kittery into which William Pepperrell, Jr., was born in 1696. After a slow beginning the small village which was his home had become one of the most populous, if not most prosperous, parts of the town. It was a village of seafaring farmers, of small landowners who lived off their lands and made their living from the sea. They were not interested in King William's new plan of reorganizing the administration of colonial affairs or in his great continental alliance against France. They had no way of knowing that the activities of the Iroquois along the borders of New York were responsible for the attack on Berwick in 1690, that the latter was merely part of the same scheme of retaliation that brought destruction to Schenectady. Their main concern was with more immediate, closer-to-home, problems. The men of Kittery Point were much more disturbed over the attempts of New Hampshire to compel Kittery vessels to pay fees to that province than they were over the probable effects of Parliament's latest Act for preventing frauds in the Plantation Trade. And they were extremely concerned

[27] Kittery Town Records, Book II, town meetings of Feb. 6, 1716, and May 14, 1716.

over what help they could expect from the Great and General Court of Massachusetts in Kittery's war against the French and Indians. For, above all, the town was a frontier to the enemy.

Kittery, especially the Point, was more than a fighting frontier. It was a frontier village in the social sense as well. Class distinctions were a matter of little moment. Those individuals who stood out above their fellow townsmen, who were chosen to fill the town offices and given militia commands, achieved their pre-eminence not by accident of birth or by the pretensions of a privileged profession, but by their success in accumulating a larger share of worldly goods. Preoccupied with material things, the community was willing to risk intellectual poverty if the charge of supporting a minister and a schoolmaster could be saved.

They had the resources of two frontiers—the forest and the sea—at their disposal. Those of the sea were free and unlimited, those of the forest somewhat less so. It was to the sea that the men of Kittery Point turned. To William Pepperrell the sea brought wealth, the wealth that lifted his family into the ranks of the aristocracy and that eventually gave his son the chance to win fame and a baronetcy as the conqueror of Louisbourg.

⚓ CHAPTER III

Early Cargoes and the Course of Trade

⚓ THE first trading venture of William Pepperrell of which there is authentic evidence was a voyage to Newfoundland in the autumn of 1682. To the dismay of English merchants and the Commissioners of Customs, trade between New England and Newfoundland, begun in the preceding decade, had developed virtually unregulated by the Acts of Trade; for Newfoundland lay in the "twilight zone" of England's colonial and commercial system. Because of their practice of augmenting return cargoes with a few passengers, New England traders at Newfoundland were unpopular also with the officers of the royal navy to whom the care and protection of England's nursery for seamen had been entrusted. The commodore of the Newfoundland convoy in September, 1682, complained to William Blathwayt that "none violate the rules of the western charter so much as the New England traders who spirit away the inhabitants to the mischief both of adventurers and planters." [1] He was, the commodore reported, finding it necessary to require the New Englanders to furnish bonds not to carry away English subjects from the island. Among these who signed a bond in September, 1682, was William Pepperrell of Kittery.[2]

Of the stories that have grown up around the career of the Pepperrells, one related that John Bray at first refused to permit his daughter to marry William because of his humble circumstances, but that William's first venture was so highly profitable that Margery Bray's father could no longer withhold his approval of the match. Several variations, differing only in their theory of the

[1] *Cal. St. Papers,* 1681–1685, No. 689. [2] *Ibid.,* No. 689 IV.

nature of William's crucial first voyage, are uncritically accepted. Some say he loaded a "brig" for Hull, others hold that he must have gone privateering to have been so successful in his initial venture; a few even go so far as to say that it must have been nothing short of piracy. That his venture was so prosaic an undertaking as a voyage to Newfoundland in a small sloop laden with an unromantic cargo of Connecticut pork, pine boards, and a hogshead or two of rum is never considered. Yet such it probably was.

By 1693, however, William had extended his activities to the southern colonies and the West Indies. In that year two, or possibly three, vessels that he owned called at Maryland. In April the *Andrew,* a thirty-ton barque, arrived there from Virginia and took on three hogsheads of tobacco. In December the *Margery,* a twenty-ton sloop, arrived at Maryland from Barbados and sailed for Piscataqua four months later with a like quantity of tobacco. Another sloop—although in this instance the evidence of William's ownership is not conclusive—arrived from Piscataqua three months before the *Margery* and sailed for Boston in early February with four hogsheads of tobacco.[3] At about this time also, according to William's recollection thirty years later, he sent his first vessel to the Albemarle Sound region of North Carolina.[4] During the next few years the *Margery* and another sloop on their return voyages from the West Indies called fairly regularly at North Carolina and Virginia where they added a few barrels of pork, and probably tar and pitch, to the rum and molasses loaded at Barbados or Antigua.[5] However, in 1700 William Pepperrell wrote to John Usher, Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire, in terms which suggest that he had not had a vessel at Virginia for some time past. "Sir," he wrote, "after due respects presented to you and your good lady, Sir, I do remember you were telling me you would befriend me if that I had occasion to send to Virginia." He now had, William con-

[3] C.O. 5:749 (Library of Congress transcripts), Maryland Naval Office Lists, part 2. Two vessels, probably belonging to Wm. Pepperrell, that cleared for Virginia and Antigua in 1686 and 1688 respectively are listed in Massachusetts Archives, Vol. VII, 1632.

[4] Wm. Pepperrell to Col. Edward Moseley, April 10, 1722, MeHS MSS., Book II. Unless otherwise noted, all letters from the Pepperrells were addressed from either Piscataqua or Kittery.

[5] Wm. Pepperrell to Edward Pare, April 8, 1695, MHS MSS.

tinued, a brigantine bound there from Barbados, and he would consider it "a particular kindness" if Usher would give the master a letter of recommendation.[6]

William's acquaintance with Usher had begun rather inauspiciously seven years earlier when one of his vessels became involved in a dispute between the governments of New Hampshire and Massachusetts over the collection of the various harbor fees at Piscataqua. As long as the two provinces were under the same government, under Sir Edmund Andros and during the uncertain times immediately following the Revolution of 1688, Kittery and Portsmouth together had been one of the five ports of entry for northern New England.[7] In 1692, however, New Hampshire again became a separate province, under the governorship of Samuel Allen, a London merchant who had purchased the old Mason claims; and Allen, preferring to remain for the time being in his London countinghouse, had his son-in-law John Usher, a well-to-do Boston merchant, appointed Lieutenant Governor.[8] No sooner had the news of Allen's commission and Usher's appointment reached Boston than the Massachusetts government declared Kittery a port of entry and established a naval office there.[9] But a perusal of the Massachusetts charter convinced Usher that Sir William Phipps, Governor of Massachusetts, had no right to claim any authority on the Piscataqua. Furthermore, complained Usher to the Lords of Trade, Massachusetts had withdrawn her soldiers from the New Hampshire frontier towns and refused any other assistance in the war against the French and Indians.[10] The upshot of the matter was that Kittery shipmasters found themselves faced with the necessity of paying powder money and entrance and clearance fees to the New Hampshire officials, and among the several vessels caught in the conflict was William Pepperrell's barque *Mary*.

On the first of May, 1693, the *Mary* entered the harbor with a

[6] Wm. Pepperrell to John Usher, Aug. 24, 1700, Harvard University, Houghton Library MS. Colls. (hereafter cited as HUHL MSS.).

[7] *Cal. St. Papers,* 1685–1688, No. 1110.

[8] Jeremy Belknap, *The History of New Hampshire* (3 vols., Dover, N.H., 1812), I, 192–193.

[9] E. Ames and A. C. Goodell, eds., *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (17 vols., Boston, 1869–1910), I, 34–35.

[10] *Cal. St. Papers,* 1693–1696, No. 455.

cargo of salt from Salt Tortuga.[11] As she rounded Fort Point on New Castle Island and lowered her topsails to swing over to her mooring in front of the Pepperrell wharf, a shot skimmed across her bow and a voice from the fort ordered Captain Robert Mitchell to luff to and come to anchor. The master had no choice but to comply and go ashore, where he found the Lieutenant Governor waiting for him. It was his "will and pleasure," Usher declared, that Captain Mitchell enter and unload his cargo at the fort and "pay powder money both for this and the last voyage." Although there was, as the Massachusetts Council soon pointed out to Lieutenant Governor Usher, an office at Kittery where the master of the *Mary* at his departure had cleared and was now upon his arrival intending to enter, Usher nevertheless had the *Mary*'s cargo taken off, the hatches sealed, and two armed men put on board the vessel. The not-unconcerned citizens of Kittery Point, in plain view of whom the affair took place, expressed their sentiments in a town meeting a week later when they voted that "the Town would stand to maintain the privileges of the river . . . according to patent, either on behalf of William Pepperrell or any other." [12] Governor Phipps of Massachusetts, to whom William addressed a "grievous complaint and petition," sent a sharp note to Usher demanding an explanation of the matter. "If it arises from any pretence or claim of jurisdiction over the river on both sides," declared Phipps, "it's necessary I be made acquainted therewith and the grounds of such challenge." It is, he concluded, "inconsistent with their Majesties' service and interest that any discouragement or obstruction be given to trade and commerce, or that misunderstandings happen betwixt their respective governments." But Usher ignored Phipps's letter, and a second one in mid-summer succeeded only in eliciting a tardy reply from Usher justifying the detention of the vessel.[13] Whether or not the two governors "concerted" their differences, as far as William Pepperrell was concerned the outcome was satisfactory. His vessel was released, and the affair did not deter Usher from doing business with him thereafter. Three years later Usher pur-

[11] The account that follows, except as otherwise noted, is based on Gov. Wm. Phipps to Lt. Gov. Usher, Boston, May 26, 1693, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. III, No. 476a; Massachusetts Council to Lt. Gov. Usher, Boston, July 14, 1693, *ibid.*, No. 477.

[12] Kittery Town Records, Book I, town meeting, May 9, 1693.

[13] *Cal. St. Papers*, 1693–1696, No. 522.

chased some West India goods brought from Barbados in the *Mary* and had a part share in at least one of William's future ventures to Salt Tortuga.

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William's account with Usher from 1696 to 1699 was not one that would be expected of a merchant in one of Boston's satellite ports. The first transaction took place in April, 1696, when Usher bought sixteen hogsheads of molasses priced at £130 11*s*.[14] In the following month Usher sold William probably a hundred bushels of wheat for some £29, after which the account languished. Over the next two years William's purchases were negligible. They amounted to a hogshead of Indian corn and one of bread. Then he bought for £55 a bill drawn payable to Captain Shadrach Walton, commander of the fort at New Castle, which seems to have been a sterling bill of exchange. A little more than a year prior to the date of the bill Captain Walton had petitioned the Board of Trade for a reimbursement of the debts and expense he had incurred in the service of the King and province.[15] The New Hampshire assembly had refused, while Usher was Lieutenant Governor, to appropriate funds for provisioning the fort, and Usher had supplied the provisions at his own charge.[16] Consequently whatever sum Walton received as a result of his petition would have come into Usher's possession. Meanwhile William Pepperrell, by one of the complicated credit arrangements of the times, had acquired a bill that Usher himself had drawn in favor of Samuel Allen. Usher credited the bill on William's account and at the same time sent him a statement showing a balance of some £50 in William's favor.

Soon afterward Usher took a part share in a cargo or two of salt, some of which apparently came from the Bay of Biscay. William was having difficulty disposing of it, because, as he informed Usher, salt from Salt Tortuga was selling at Piscataqua for only eight shillings per hogshead. He had, he wrote, nevertheless sold about thirty hogsheads of the Salt Tortuga salt at eleven shillings.[17] "Most of the French salt is left," he continued, "except a half score bushels

[14] Receipt of John Usher, Aug. 18, 1699, Boston Public Library MS. Colls., No. Ch-J-3-13; Usher accounts, 1696–1699, MHS MSS. As a general rule a molasses hogshead contained from 95 to 105 gallons. In this instance the total quantity amounted to 1649 gallons.

[15] *Cal. St. Papers,* 1696–1697, No. 570. [16] Belknap, *op. cit.,* I, 236.

[17] Wm. Pepperrell to John Usher, Aug. 24, 1700, HUHL MSS.

that I used myself, and can have no more for it than for the other salt. I desire your Honor, if you please," he concluded, "to send me my account and a couple of barrels of Connecticut pork, and as for what salt is left I can sell it all at ten shillings per hogshead for it wastes in lying." Here is a hint of sharp practice on William's part, for in order to sell the Salt Tortuga product at two or three shillings higher than the prevailing price he must have misrepresented it, unless he sold it elsewhere, and this seems unlikely.

The molasses that Usher bought in April, 1696, was most certainly part of a cargo the *Mary* brought from Barbados at that time. The year before, in the autumn probably, William had assembled a cargo which he dispatched to Benjamin and Joseph Hole, merchants at Barbados, who then had a half share in the *Mary* and a half interest in her cargoes, northbound as well as southbound. From somewhere up the Piscataqua River, perhaps in Berwick, William collected 11,500 red oak hogshead staves and 9975 feet of pine boards, to which he added 8350 shingles. The greater part of the lading, in value if not in bulk, consisted of about 137 quintals of "scale" fish (haddock, hake, and pollock) invoiced at twelve shillings per quintal, 24 quintals of cod at fourteen shillings, 8 barrels of mackerel at twenty-two shillings per barrel, and 8 barrels of "train" oil at thirty-six shillings per barrel. The boards were invoiced at thirty-eight shillings per thousand feet, the staves at twenty-six shillings, and the shingles at only eight shillings per thousand, which brought the total value of the cargo to £159 3*s*. 11*d*.[18] The Holes disposed of the fish and lumber at Barbados and returned the *Mary* early in 1696 with a cargo that William Pepperrell sold to Nathaniel Fryer of New Castle and several other merchants, including John Usher. The proceeds seem to have amounted to about £366.[19] Then William loaded the *Mary* with a cargo similar to that of the previous year except that the proportion of fish was slightly smaller. Its total value, based on the invoice of the preceding year, probably amounted to something like £120. The Holes sold this cargo at Barbados in the summer of 1696 for £310 18*s*. 1½*d*. The fish sold

[18] Invoice of cargo, barque *Mary,* 1695, New England Historic Genealogical Society MS. Colls., Pepperrell Papers (hereafter cited as NEHG MSS.), Book II.

[19] Benjamin and Joseph Hole's account current, 1696, a badly damaged, almost illegible document, *ibid.,* Book I.

for twenty-two shillings sixpence per quintal, the boards for eighty-five shillings per thousand feet, and the shingles for thirty-five shillings.[20] Five or six months later, in the middle of January, 1697, the *Mary* was again at Barbados discharging what undoubtedly was another cargo of the same sort.[21]

These were fairly small scale undertakings even for an age of small transactions. They did not, however, represent William's entire trade with the West Indies, since he had at this same time at least two other vessels voyaging to Antigua or Barbados.[22] One of them was apparently the sloop *Margery*. Not all the goods he shipped on these two vessels were for his own account. Some of them, like part of the *Mary*'s cargoes, were sent "on the account and risk" of the merchants with whom he traded in the West Indies. His own stake in the southbound cargoes of the three vessels aggregated perhaps £250 or £300 each year.[23]

During the same years William pushed farther afield in search of a trade. In 1695 a brigantine he sent to the Canary Islands was sold there for 537 pieces of eight, which brought in £141 2*s.* 2*d.* when exchanged for sterling on William's account in London. That his balance in London was in his favor appears from the fact that the London merchant to whom the pieces of eight were remitted wrote to William for instructions how to dispose of the net proceeds received from the sale of the coin.[24]

An interchange of goods in which the proceeds of one cargo were shipped back on the return voyage obviously brought no advantage to either party. It would have been, to resurrect an old simile, a case of each taking in the other's washing. Somewhere something had to be sold at a profit in a form that could be retained and added to. In the larger seaport towns some merchants made their profit as shopkeepers, by selling their cargoes at retail for coin of various descriptions or, generally, for credit which through devious

[20] Account of sales, 1696, barque *Mary*. This cargo consisted of about 16,000 feet of boards, 8400 staves, 6500 shingles, and 118 quintals of fish, HUHL MSS.

[21] Account of disbursements, barque *Mary*, Jan.–April, 1697, NEHG MSS., Book I.

[22] Wm. Pepperrell to Edward Pare, April 8, 1695, MHS MSS.

[23] The *Mary* made two trips each year, one in the spring and another in the fall; each of the two sloops seems to have made one trip a year. Wm. Pepperrell's half share in the two cargoes of the *Mary* amounted to approximately £140.

[24] David Waterhouse to Wm. Pepperrell, London, May 15, 1695, NEHG MSS., Book I.

channels eventually fulfilled the same function as coin. Others were merchant-shipowners who exploited the English market for overseas goods and made their profit by building up a sterling account by lines of trade that were often as circuitous as the shopkeepers' credit arrangements.

The distinction between the merchant-shopkeeper and the merchant-shipowner was frequently obscured by a diversity of interest that almost defies classification. Thomas Hancock, who belonged to the generation of William Pepperrell, Jr., exemplified the merchant-shopkeeper who, in search of a prop for his falling retail business, wandered off into profitable but sometimes questionable byways of commerce. A stationer, he became a merchant when he began to import his supplies direct from England. Then, to pay for his English imports, he turned to a more ramified overseas trade which before long led him into the highly profitable smuggling of tea and Holland goods and into an equally profitable, unscrupulous, but more legitimate business in government contracts.[25] Although the Hancock fortune was built on war profiteering and smuggling, there were some merchant-shopkeepers who made a success of their retail business and who seem to have extended their interests chiefly as a means of investing their surplus. Fifty years earlier than Thomas Hancock, John Usher had made his start likewise as a stationer and bookseller in Boston. By the middle of the 1680's, when William Pepperrell was launching his mercantile career, Usher's bookshop had already brought the proprietor a goodly competence, and it was as a prosperous merchant-shopkeeper that he dabbled in William Pepperrell's salt ventures ten years later. In the meantime he had been, like Thomas Hancock, attracted by the financial possibilities of one of the concomitants of trade, but whereas Hancock grew rich on smuggling, John Usher found the reward of politics disappointingly small.[26]

William Pepperrell's activities clearly indicate the basic design of his early pattern of trade. His account with John Usher and the sale of his brigantine at the Canaries point to a growing sterling

[25] W. T. Baxter, *The House of Hancock* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), in chaps. i–xi presents a thorough if sometimes naive account of Thomas Hancock's business activities.

[26] Belknap, *op. cit.*, I, 231–256.

balance. The Barbados accounts of the *Mary* suggest that William followed the practice, common among North American merchants at a later date, of remitting part of the proceeds of his southbound cargoes to England. The local sale of English or West India goods in retail quantities entered the pattern only to a minor extent, if at all. His only local accounts, until after 1713, were those of a few fisherman of Kittery and York and one or two merchants in Portsmouth or New Castle.[27] The former provided him with fish for his southern voyages in return for rum and salt; the latter took his West India goods and naval stores in exchange for provisions, staves, fish, and the supplies necessary for the operation of his vessels. His sterling balance was therefore largely profit and not primarily the means of paying for English imports destined for the Piscataqua market.

Eight of the early years of William's career had been years of war. Fear of a French attack by sea, occasional embargoes ordered by the provincial government, and the impressment of seamen into the King's service at times interrupted the commerce of all the coastal towns, while, in Maine, marauding Indians made it a hazardous task to build vessels and assemble their cargoes. Desultory fighting in Newfoundland resulted in the loss and subsequent recapture, by the English, of St. John's and several other settlements. Nevertheless, throughout these years William Pepperrell developed his trade and added to the number of vessels he owned.

On the eve of the second colonial war he was a well-established merchant-shipowner of considerable local prominence. His "fleet" consisted of seven vessels at the very minimum, including the *Mary,* the ownership of which he shared with Benjamin and Joseph Hole, and the *Three Friends,* a small open sloop of only sixteen tons which he owned jointly with Samuel Lillie, the most extensive shipowner of Boston.[28] Lillie, who was the sole owner of seventeen vessels and part owner of thirty-seven others in the five years 1698–1702, surpassed William Pepperrell by a wide margin; but, including Lillie, fewer than a score of Boston's 110 merchant-shipowners could boast

[27] Receipt of John Moore, July 1, 1700, NEHG MSS., Book I; Matthew Austin to Wm. Pepperrell, York, Nov. 3, 1702, *ibid.*

[28] The registry of the *Three Friends* is recorded May 12, 1698, in Massachusetts Archives, VII, 120.

of owning or sharing the ownership of a larger number than William Pepperrell. Among the Boston shipowners he would have ranked with Andrew Faneuil, who at the time was concerned in the ownership of eight vessels. But at Piscataqua, where, according to Governor Bellomont, there were twenty-four vessels owned in 1697, he was in all likelihood the foremost shipowner.[29]

After a brief interval of peaceful trade, colonial merchants were again faced with the confusion and distractions of wartime. This time, to make matters worse, Spain was an enemy, not an ally, of England, and the Caribbean became one of the principal theaters of operation. Yet in spite of the uncertainties and interruptions, war stimulated the colonies' maritime activity. By cultivating profitable piratical connections and by developing their own overseas trade, Philadelphia and New York began to threaten Boston's mercantile supremacy. Successful privateering ventures brought prosperity to shipowners of Newport, Rhode Island, while increased trade with Portugal, Surinam, and the West Indies compensated for wartime interruptions to Newport's growing traffic in "black ivory." [30] At Boston, shipbuilding jumped ahead, spurred by the profits (and losses) of privateering and by the transport requirements of the several expeditions against Canada. During the six years between 1696 and 1701, inclusive, there had been built and registered in Boston a total of 79 vessels; but in a similar period, 1702–1707, immediately following the outbreak of the war, the number increased to 130; and in the last six years of the war, 1708–1713, the total amounted to 191.[31] Nor was this activity confined to the metropolis. Salem, where the height of a maritime prosperity was to be reached in the days of the Derbys and Crowninshields a century later, had as early as 1709, according to a British visitor, a "very considerable" trade with the sugar islands. Philip English,

[29] C. P. Nettels, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies before 1720,* pp. 69–70; Saltonstall, *op. cit.,* p. 18.

[30] Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.,* pp. 175–179.

[31] Massachusetts Archives, VII, 3–5. Breaking down according to tonnage the construction figures for Boston reveals the number of vessels built of various sizes, as follows:

	1696–1701	*1702–1707*	*1708–1713*
50 tons and under	37	74	74
55–100 tons	28	45	77
over 100 tons	14	11	40

William Hirst, and other Salem merchants were also, the observer noted, sending "many ships to Portugal and the Straits" and enjoying a "very good trade" with the Azores and Madeira. One of the early voyages of the first seafaring Derby was made on a brigantine chartered to Philip English, who at the time owned at least twenty vessels.[32]

At Piscataqua, William Pepperrell built up his fleet and improved his relations with the leading merchants of Boston. He had previously been associated with Samuel Lillie in the ownership of a small sloop. Now in partnership with Andrew Belcher he became part owner of a fair-sized brigantine, named appropriately the *William and Andrew,* whose burden was variously given as fifty or ninety tons.[33]

Andrew Belcher belonged to the same generation of Boston merchants as Samuel Lillie and John Usher. He had raised his status from that of a Cambridge tavern-keeper to the more exalted one of a Boston merchant at about the time William Pepperrell came to the Isles of Shoals and, by methods that were sometimes none too scrupulous, had become a leading member of the merchant aristocracy. Among the shipowners of Boston he ranked second only to Samuel Lillie. When William Pepperrell joined him in the ownership of the *William and Andrew,* Belcher had been for three years a member of that august body, the Council of Massachusetts Bay Province; and, only a short time before, his son Jonathan had married the daughter of William Partridge, Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire and John Usher's bitter political rival.[34] The connection formed at this time between William Pepperrell, the successful merchant-shipowner of Massachusetts' seaboard frontier, and Andrew Belcher, merchant aristocrat, was to be maintained by their more famous sons for over half a century and was to be an important factor in the affairs of the Pepperrells.

[32] J. D. Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1937), pp. 75–85, and by the same author, *The Life and Times of Richard Derby* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 3.

[33] Massachusetts Archives, VII, 81, 293.

[34] Weeden, *op. cit.,* I, 342; Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.,* p. 252. Nettels, *op. cit.,* p. 70n., notes that Belcher held shares in 42 vessels, 6 of which he was sole owner. See also the biographical sketch of Jonathan Belcher by J. T. Adams in *Dictionary of American Biography,* II, 143–144.

Up to this time the *William and Andrew* was probably the largest vessel in which William Pepperrell had an interest, and in late February, 1705, he himself took command of her for a voyage to Europe. Part, if not all, of her cargo consisted of freight shipped by various Boston merchants. Some of it was consigned to Rotterdam.[35]

The *William and Andrew* was only one of three, possibly four, vessels in which William Pepperrell was concerned that crossed the Atlantic in the first six months of 1705, a year in which more vessels were registered at Boston than in any other year between 1699 and 1709. In early January, or on one of the last days of the old year, his brigantine *Mary* sailed for Lisbon. Before the war the *Mary* had been shuttling back and forth to the West Indies, but Benjamin Hole, William's late partner in Barbados, was now in England. Perhaps he had gone "home" to enjoy the wealth he had accumulated in the Indies; perhaps his trade there had been too disrupted by the war: at any rate, he was now at Topsham, whither the *Mary* soon followed. The brigantine arrived at Lisbon in early spring with four hundred quintals of fish for Hole's account, and there, after discharging the fish, she took on freight for Topsham, the proceeds of which were laid out for oil consigned to Hole. But, so wrote William's agents at Lisbon, the market was "miserable"; because of the great quantities of prize fish sent in, the price of fish had dropped very low, and because William refused to permit the *Mary* to sail for Topsham without convoy, no more than fifty shillings per ton freight money could be obtained. Even at that they questioned their ability to fill her up since so many vessels were bound for England. Although they would do all they could in William's interest, the agents wrote, they feared the *Mary*'s long layover would prove a great loss.[36] In the latter part of June, after William returned from his voyage in the *William and Andrew,* his son Andrew, who presumably had been directing affairs in his

[35] Portion of a bill of lading dated Feb. 26, 1705, covering a part of the cargo, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* IV (1850), 347n. Another bill of lading dated Feb. 28 and signed by Wm. Pepperrell, master of the *William and Andrew* "bound for Rotterdam," covers one cask of skins and furs consigned to Lavinnus Vanschaik. The freight amounted to £3 plus "other charges in England." *Ibid.,* XIX (1865), 141–142.

[36] Milner, Bulreel, and Baudowin to Wm. Pepperrell, Lisbon, April 23, 1705, MeHS MSS., Book I.

father's absence, sailed for Europe with the fifty-ton brigantine *Dolphin*. Another vessel that cleared in the same month for Europe may have been one in which William had a part interest since the master was his new son-in-law, John Frost, a rising young merchant mariner of New Castle.[37]

While strengthening his ties with the Boston merchants and maintaining his connections with Benjamin Hole in Topsham, William Pepperrell had at the same time secured his moorings at Piscataqua. The marriage of his oldest daughter, Mary, to John Frost, and that of his son Andrew to Jane Eliot united the Pepperrells with two of the oldest and most prominent families of Kittery and Portsmouth. In Boston, the wealthy merchants, by marrying into the old "first families" of the colony and by intermarriage within their own ranks, had created a new aristocracy, close-knit and fairly exclusive. The same process was at work at Piscataqua.

After his brisk flurry of activity in the early months of 1705, William's overocean trade settled back into a more leisurely tempo. During the next three or four years he sent only one or perhaps two vessels to England and made occasional remittances of sterling bills to his English correspondents.[38] A parcel of leather and a few barrels of whale oil shipped to Topsham by Andrew and Jonathan Belcher for the account of William Pepperrell and Benjamin Hole round out the picture of his wartime trade with the mother country.[39]

Southward his pattern of trade changed slightly. Four sloops, the *Olive, Merrimac, Miriam,* and *Nonesuch,* acquired during the war by William and his son Andrew were now employed in his West Indies trade. Like the *Mary* in 1695–1697, they took pine boards, red oak hogshead staves, shingles, and fish to the islands and brought back molasses, rum, sugar, and cotton, but their cargoes from Piscataqua were smaller than those of the *Mary,* especially in the amount of lumber carried. The *Olive* in September, 1712, discharged 8317 feet of boards, 4300 staves, 5000 shingles, and 19 hogsheads of fish at either Barbados or Antigua, the net proceeds of

[37] Massachusetts Archives, VII, 81.

[38] Three bills of exchange that he remitted in the spring of 1709 totaled £200. John Ive to Wm. Pepperrell, May 12, 1709, MHS MSS.

[39] Bill of lading dated Feb. 16, 1708, Boston Public Library MS. Colls., No. H-90-8.

which amounted to £179 16*s.* 4*d.*, while in the same month the *Merrimac* unloaded a cargo there which sold for £227 3*s.* 2*d.*[40]

To the *Miriam* was assigned also the task of threading her way through the shallow inlets of the Carolina coast with goods intended for trading among the scattered inhabitants of the pine barrens. North Carolina was still undeveloped commercially and sparsely populated. Bath, at the mouth of the Tar River, was a small settlement of a dozen houses, the only town in the whole province. Perhaps somewhat more than five thousand additional settlers lived along the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers and around the shores of Albemarle Sound, dubbed "Rogues' Harbor" by unfriendly Virginia neighbors.[41] Nevertheless, the region produced two types of commodities that were of definite interest to William Pepperrell and other Massachusetts merchants. Pork and provisions were one of them, and naval stores the other. The former were always scarce in wartime, and the latter had become important articles of trade since the passage of the naval stores act of 1705.[42] Earlier, William Pepperrell's vessels had touched at Carolina on their return from the West Indies; now he began sending the *Miriam* direct from Piscataqua, with small quantities of English goods included in her cargoes.[43]

Whether increased activity during the war years meant a greater volume of trade is one of the questions that must remain unanswered. High prices in the colony and diminishing exports to England, as well as a trade depression in the British West Indies, imply that the trade of Massachusetts fell off. Furthermore, Antigua, a favorite destination for New England vessels, was thrown into confusion for almost four years by a bitter conflict between some of the merchant planters and Governor Daniel Parke which culminated in an armed uprising and the murder of the Governor. And

[40] Accounts of the sloop *Olive,* Sept.–Oct., 1712, MeHS MSS., Book I; accounts of the sloop *Merrimac,* 1712, *ibid.*

[41] R. E. Moody, "Massachusetts' Trade with Carolina, 1686–1709," *North Carolina Historical Review,* XX, No. 1 (1943), 44; Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (6 vols., New York, 1905–1925), II, 356.

[42] Nettels, *op. cit.* p. 75n., lists the amount of naval stores exported from New England after the enactment of the bounty.

[43] Bills of lading dated Nov. 12, 1708. On this voyage the *Miriam* carried 4 hogsheads and 2 tierces of molasses, 2 hogsheads and 2 barrels of rum, 20 barrels of salt, 1 barrel of sugar, 1 chest and 1 bale of English goods, and 1 cask of [fish?], NEHG MSS., Book I.

finally, complaints adverting to the low level of trade were voiced on various occasions by the Boston and Portsmouth merchants and by Robert Quary, surveyor general of the customs.[44]

But while Massachusetts' exports to England were declining, her imports, on the other hand, were substantially increasing. New trades were developed beyond their prewar level, among them the Nantucket whaling industry and the trade with Carolina. For her commercial contact with the outside world Carolina became almost completely dependent upon the merchants and shipowners of Massachusetts. Boston's port facilities were improved and enlarged during the war. In 1706 a new town dock and several wharves were built at a cost to the citizens of approximately £1000. Four years later one of the first business corporations in the country began the construction of a sixteen-hundred-foot wharf at the foot of King Street, and by July, 1713, the new "Long Wharf" was in use.[45]

The complaints of some of the merchants failed to prevent newcomers from entering the field. Of the young men of Boston who built up a trade with England and the West Indies during these years, there were two whose careers William Pepperrell would have followed with considerable interest had he been able to foresee the future. One was Andrew Tyler, who a few years after the war was to marry William's daughter Miriam; the other was Grove Hirst, a son of one of Salem's magnates and a son-in-law of Judge Samuel Sewall. Mary, the daughter of Grove Hirst, was to become the wife of William Pepperrell, Jr. At Piscataqua also, new faces appeared among the merchant group. Joseph Newmarch, whose father was the minister at Kittery Point, moved across the harbor to Portsmouth where he set himself up in trade. One of the most successful was Archibald MacPhaedris, who was employed during the war by several London merchants as the master of their vessel in the West Indies trade.[46] Afterwards he married a daughter of

[44] Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 139n., lists New England's exports and imports with Britain and cites complaints regarding trade. See also Samuel Sewall's "Letterbook," Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Ser. 6, I, 313, 332, 375, 388; Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1806), II, 159–161; and Nettels, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 40.

[45] Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–172.

[46] Richard Wilkerson [two other illegible signatures] to Capt. MacPhaedris, London, Oct. 30, 1712, Warner-MacPhaedris House, Portsmouth, N.H., MacPhaedris Papers.

Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth and built a two-story brick mansion that was one of the finest homes in Portsmouth.[47]

Perhaps the most that can be ventured as a conclusion is that if New England's trade declined in one direction it increased in another; if the total volume fell, the profits, for some individuals at least, seem to have increased.

None of the Pepperrell ledgers giving the complete data on each of the accounts for the entire duration of the account appear to have survived. Balance statements, invoices, and vessel and cargo accounts are, for the period of Queen Anne's War, too meager and too scattered to yield even an approximation of the volume of William's trade. If the accounts of the *Olive* and *Merrimac* in the autumn of 1712 are used as a basis and if each vessel made one trip a year, his four sloops in the West Indies trade carried 20 per cent less cargo a year than the three vessels employed in the same trade in 1695–1697; but this leaves the brigantine *Mary,* and very likely other vessels, unaccounted for. By the last year of the war the *Mary* had returned to the West Indies trade, and it may be that she had resumed it earlier.

William Pepperrell's position in the West Indies and Carolina trades seems to have improved, irrespective of volume. During the 1690's as much as 50 per cent of his cargoes to and from the Caribbean islands consisted of goods shipped on the accounts of others, and at the same time only a portion of the goods he brought back from Virginia and Carolina were on his own account. But by 1712 the bulk of the cargo was on his account. During the war eight vessels, not previously encountered, are referred to in the records as under Pepperrell ownership. They were the brigantines *William and Andrew* and *Dolphin;* the sixty-ton pink *Joanna,* which William purchased in 1707 for £182; [48] the four sloops *Miriam, Nonesuch, Olive,* and *Merrimac;* and a French prize that was sent into Portsmouth by Her Majesty's ship-of-war *Norwich* and sold in the fall of 1710 to William Pepperrell, his son-in-law John Frost, and Theodore Atkinson, a leading figure in Portsmouth's political and

[47] The two parallel peaked roofs separated by a deep valley that ran the length of the house were an unusual feature, although common enough in England.

[48] Bill of sale, Sept. 12, 1707, MeHS MSS., Book I.

mercantile life.[49] There could perhaps be added to the list the seventy-ton *Fellowship,* which John Frost commanded on a voyage to Europe in June, 1705. A few of the eight or nine might have been, and probably were, sold to foreign buyers after a voyage or two, might have been lost at sea or taken by the enemy, or might have been acquired to replace older vessels that had been lost or sold; but to offset such deductions there must have been an indeterminable number of vessels owned by William during the war of which nothing now is known.

When peace returned, William Pepperrell could look back over a career in trade that spanned some thirty years. It had been an unspectacular but, without doubt, a satisfying one. He had become known to the leading merchants of Boston, and that is to say, to the leading merchants of the colonies. They had invested in his business ventures and had included him in theirs. He could boast of an account with one of the more prominent merchants of London.[50] The leading families of Piscataqua had accepted him as an equal. Yet the busiest years of his life lay ahead.

[49] Saltonstall, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

[50] David Waterhouse, who handled Wm. Pepperrell's account when his brigantine was sold at the Canaries in 1695, was one of four London merchants whose advice was sought by the Board of Trade in 1703 in connection with naval stores policy. Nettels, *op. cit.,* p. 145n.

⚓ CHAPTER IV

The Postwar Pattern, 1713-1723

⚓ BY 1713 William Pepperrell had reached that time in life when men begin to think of retiring from active participation in trade. He had already admitted his older son, Andrew, who had served his apprenticeship at sea, to a partnership in the firm; and young William, Jr., had been set to work in the countinghouse signing receipts and copying his father's almost illegible letters. Colonel William, as the elder Pepperrell was now usually addressed, could henceforth expect to leave the details and much of the responsibility of the business safely in the hands of his two sons. His thoughts turned homeward, to England, where he proposed to purchase an estate near his native town of Revelstoke and spend his remaining years leading the life of a country gentleman.[1] But an unkind Providence intervened to frustrate his hopes and plans for the future. Calvinistic New England had not the slightest doubt of the immanence of divine intervention, and that it was unpredictable and indiscriminate in its working was made grievously apparent to Colonel William when, within a year after the end of the war, his son Andrew died. The burden of affairs was thrown back upon the shoulders of the sixty-five-year-old father and his only remaining son, seventeen-year-old William, Jr.

How long and to what extent Colonel William continued to direct the firm's business is difficult to say. Overseas correspondents addressed letters and invoices to "Messrs. William Pepperrell" as early as 1716, but it was, so far as can be determined, the elder William for whom they were intended until as late as 1727. Local ac-

[1] Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15, 20–22.

counts such as cobblers' bills, receipts and orders for a dozen cod hooks or a gallon of rum, are another good indicator. Prior to 1721 or 1722 most of the local bills and orders were sent to Colonel William, but after that most of them came addressed to "Captain William Pepperrell," as the younger William was then known. In 1729 the latter was associated with his brother-in-law, Captain Benjamin Clarke, in trading for the first time with the French West Indies. Two years later the Pepperrells were sending enumerated goods to Ireland in violation of the Acts of Trade. Perhaps a new hand was then at the helm, for by this time Colonel William was past the age of eighty, and his trembling hands and shaky signature gave evidence of weakness and decrepitude. William, Jr., probably began by taking charge of their local accounts toward the end of the first postwar decade and then gradually assumed a larger share of responsibility until, in 1730 or thereabouts, the entire direction of the business was in his care.

Perhaps Colonel William would have postponed retiring even if Andrew had lived, for the decade following the Peace of Utrecht was one of expanding trade. Of Boston's outbound tonnage, 37 per cent headed for the West Indies, where New England merchants were developing an extensive commerce with the French, Dutch, and Danish possessions while continuing to enjoy their old accustomed trade with the British islands. In Barbados a period of extraordinary prosperity, during the first half of the decade at least, and seventy-five years of intensive sugar cultivation which made it necessary to provide for an increasingly larger number of slaves per acre stimulated the demand for New England's products.[2] Antigua, of all the major islands in the Lesser Antilles the most conveniently situated for trade with New England, was an expanding market likewise.[3] Largely in response to the mounting demands of the British and foreign West Indies, the fishermen of New England

[2] Marine reports for the last six months of 1714, *Boston News-Letter;* F. W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1763* (New Haven, 1917), pp. 190, 202–203; Channing, *op. cit.,* II, 515; F. W. Pitman, "The Settlement and Financing of British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century," in *Essays in Colonial History* (New Haven, 1931) by the students of C. M. Andrews, p. 259.

[3] Between 1711 and 1723 the black population of Antigua increased two-thirds, while the white population almost doubled. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1763,* pp. 48n., 58.

rapidly increased their activity on the Newfoundland and Nova Scotia banks. As a result an important trading center developed at Canso. The expansion of the fishery and the growth of trade through Newfoundland and Canso in turn strengthened New England's commercial position in every direction.[4]

At Piscataqua, maritime activity jogged ahead briskly. Ships and sloops and brigantines rounded Fort Point in growing numbers, bringing the products of a spreading commerce to their owners, the Pepperrells of Kittery Point and the Wentworths, Sherburnes, and Peirces of Portsmouth. At the wharves of New Castle and at Portsmouth's "Puddle Dock," Joseph Sherburne's vessels unloaded logwood from Campeche and wines from the Azores; and Archibald MacPhaedris was building up a lively three-cornered trade between England, Ireland, and Spain, a trade in which bribery and misrepresentation played a part.[5] His vessels, provided with Spanish papers and colors as well as English, were carrying wines and fruit to England and Ireland, where they would load pork, provisions, candles, and small beer ostensibly for Gibraltar, only to return surreptitiously to Cadiz.[6]

Notwithstanding the opportunities for developing new lines of trade, the Pepperrells did not, for the time being, deviate very far from the course Colonel William had plotted years earlier. Newfoundland, Antigua, Barbados, and Carolina marked the limits within which they carried on their major operations for five or six years after the war. Then their vessels began to make their way in more frequent numbers to England and to Spain and Portugal. But throughout the entire decade Barbados and Antigua remained the principal objectives.

In the days of sail a straight line was seldom the shortest route between two ports; for vessels bound from Piscataqua to the West Indies it was in fact an impossible course. The westerly winds which sweep across the north Atlantic forced Colonel William's vessels to

[4] H. A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 160–161, 166–167.

[5] Saltonstall, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26; arrivals at Piscataqua June 1, 1713, June 15, 1713, and Nov. 9, 1713, *Boston News-Letter*.

[6] Archibald MacPhaedris to Capt. Simon, Cadiz, Jan. 31, 1719; same to James Colwell, Cadiz, Feb. 10, 1719; same to James Hillhouse, Cork, Sept. 11, 1719; John Stalpart to MacPhaedris, Madrid, April, 1719. Warner-MacPhaedris House, Portsmouth, N.H., MacPhaedris Papers.

sail perhaps double the direct distance of nearly nineteen hundred miles between the mouth of the Piscataqua River and the roadstead at Carlisle Bay, the spacious harbor through which the commerce of Barbados passed. The first leg of the voyage was a long, broad reach off the New England coast to a point somewhere in mid-ocean where, to the windward of the sugar islands, the prevailing westerlies give way to the boisterous squalls, the shifting winds and dead calms of the Horse Latitudes. It was a fortunate captain who did not meet with at least a small sample of the rough weather that William's sloop *Molly* once encountered on one of her voyages. While "coming off the coast of New England in the latitude of 38. . . . I lost my hoops and boltsprite and jubb and cabbose," reported Captain Enoch Mittlebury, master of the *Molly,* "and split my rudder in pieces. . . . Our bottom was indifferent tight but the upper works was very leake." And the result was, he wrote, that "we damnified a great deal of bread, our cabin being always full of water." [7] Once they took the Northeast Trades on their port quarter and bore down for the inconspicuous freckle that marked Barbados on their charts, it was, from there on, practically "downhill" all the way.

If, after a passage of about five weeks, William's vessels came to a good market, at least a month could be taken into account for discharging and for loading the return cargo. Although Colonel William was aware that "dispatch" was "the life of trade," to quote one of his correspondents in Antigua, and although he constantly directed his captains not to lose more time than was absolutely necessary, delays of two or three months sometimes occurred.[8]

A well-timed arrival was one of the essentials of a successful voyage, but so uncertain were the factors governing the vessel's arrival and the state of the sugar market that accurate timing was almost impossible. It was chiefly a matter of wind and weather. Sugars generally came on the market soon after the first of the year and remained until mid-summer except in Barbados, where the making of clayed sugar delayed the market a month or so.[9] When heavy

[7] Enoch Mittlebury to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, March 25, 1721, MeHS MSS., Book I. The spelling is Capt. Mittlebury's own.

[8] Thomas Kerby to Messrs. Pepperrell, Antigua, Feb. 2, 1733, *ibid.,* Book II.

[9] Clayed sugars were somewhat more thoroughly refined than the brown, or muscovado, sugar. For a description of the process see Edwards, *op. cit.,* III, 49–50. Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739–1763* (Oxford, 1936), p. 307,

rains or prolonged drought further retarded the crop, the result was, for the North American shipmasters, a lengthy and expensive stay awaiting a return cargo. To arrive late was, on the other hand, to run the risk of finding the crop gone and the islands glutted with North American goods.

Possible losses were partially hedged by the practice of making at least two sailings each year, in late winter and again in early summer, but every voyage remained, in every sense of the word, a "venture."

William Pepperrell seems to have counted on Barbados sugar, molasses, and rum being ready in March, since four of his seven spring sailings between 1717 and 1724 arrived in Barbados during that month. The others, arriving in February or earlier, disposed of their lumber and fish and then, either under instructions or upon the master's decision after arriving at Barbados, went on to Salt Tortuga to load a return cargo. However, an arrival date which in one year saw William's goods sell at high prices might in the very next year bring just the reverse. One of his captains, arriving at Barbados on March 12, 1717, after a stormy passage during which "the sea was like to beat in our stern and did beat down our rails at the larbord side," reported that he had "come to a very low market," with boards selling at £4 a thousand. He would be obliged, he wrote, to go down to the Leeward Islands and try to sell the cargo at "Antigua . . . Nevis or some of the other islands, which will hinder a great deal of time." [10] On the other hand, another of William's vessels arrived at Barbados on the same day of the year following and found a market for boards at £6 per thousand.[11]

The vessels that took the summer sailings were somewhat in the nature of "extra ships," sent to take advantage of the demand for fish and lumber at the end of the sugar season. Although William occasionally directed the masters to load five or six hogsheads of molasses or rum of it could be obtained at a good price, these later

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states that Antigua desired the last English convoy to sail at the end of July when the Antigua crop terminated, but that the Barbados crop lasted until Sept. 1. However, according to Ruth Bourne, *Queen Anne's Navy in the West Indies* (New Haven, 1939), p. 111, Barbados preferred an August, not a September, sailing.

[10] Wm. Knowles to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, March 14, 1717, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[11] Edward Clampitt to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, March 18, 1718, *ibid.*

sailings were not, as a general rule, expected to bring back much in the way of West India goods. Even if rum and molasses still happened to be available at reasonable prices, the danger of hurricanes made it inadvisable to tarry in the vicinity of the islands, so that William usually instructed his captains to take whatever would be "a good return"—pieces of eight, "good money," or freight for Virginia, Philadelphia, or Boston—and to hasten directly home.[12]

The Antigua market was even more uncertain than that of Barbados. Without a single spring or stream of fresh water on the island and totally dependent upon rain water collected in great cisterns, Antigua was particularly subject to excessive droughts. Not infrequently the crop was a failure, a fact sometimes unknown to northern merchants until their vessels arrived at the island. In 1718 there was so little freight that the masters of the vessels in the harbor joined in protest against paying the customary harbor dues.[13] In 1725, in the beginning of the year, unusually heavy rains shortened the crop. Then, in the fall of the year, a drought set in which lasted for eight months and left the island in "a most miserable condition," with three-fourths of that crop lost, sugar mills closed, and a number of the planters made destitute.[14]

The uncertainty of the market and William's positive assurance that he could depend upon Thomas Kerby, his correspondent at Antigua, to accept goods whenever available and hold them for the arrival of one of William's vessels were reflected in the irregularity of his Antigua sailings. Most of his Barbados-bound vessels arrived at that island during March and then again in late July and early August, but no great preference seems to have determined the time of his sailings for Antigua. In the three years 1721–1723 four vessels belonging to William Pepperrell arrived at Antigua in four different months: early February, either late April or early May, mid-June, and early September. His voyage accounts for the later 1720's and early 1730's show a continued irregularity, with one

[12] Wm. Pepperrell to Wm. Knowles, May 22, 1718, HUHL MSS.; Wm. Pepperrell to Edward Clampitt, Nov. 14, 1719, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[13] Edwards, *op. cit.*, II, 157, 167; V. L. Oliver, *History of the Island of Antigua* (3 vols., London, 1894–1899), I, xci.

[14] Oliver, *op. cit.*, I, xcvi; Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, May 1, 1725, MeHS MSS., Book II; Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, March 12, 1726, MeHS MSS., Book I.

arrival in early January, another in mid-June, one in early July, one in late August, and another in early September.

One cargo resembled another, and a shipment to Antigua did not differ from one to Barbados. They duplicated each other in volume no less than in kind. Eight Barbados shipments in the years 1714–1733 averaged 28,728 feet of boards, planks, and joists, 15,940 shingles, 8528 red oak staves and hoops, and about 14 hogsheads of fish; the average of five shipments to Antigua in 1721–1733 amounted to 27,081 feet of boards, planks, and joists, 14,882 shingles, 7166 staves and hoops, and about 12 hogsheads of fish.[15] A few spars, a few barrels of tar and pitch, an occasional shipment of two or three horses, and one shipment consisting of three casks of tobacco served to complete the cargoes. None of them revealed a breadth of imagination equal to that of the Newburyport merchant who sent a consignment of warming pans to the West Indies to be sold for molasses ladles.

Geography, and the advantages peculiar to each location, naturally determined the commercial pattern of every coastal town. That of the larger towns—Boston, Philadelphia, and New York—took shape along lines known to every student of colonial commerce. Boston's trade reflected its position as the distributing center of the colonies and its proximity to the fishing grounds. Its great staple in the West India trade was "refuse" cod, but because of the town's entrepôt position, Boston merchants were able to supplement their fish consignments with a fairly wide assortment of miscellaneous goods drawn from all the neighboring colonies.

William Pepperrell's cargoes from Piscataqua were much less diversified. They consisted almost entirely of lumber and fish. On one occasion the preponderance of boards and planks very nearly cost William the services of his Antigua associate, Thomas Kerby. "I must observe to you," Kerby wrote, after receiving several large lumber shipments, "that the dispatch of a lumber cargo is more fatiguing and causes more writing than a cargo of five hundred slaves or as many pipes of wine, and we never can give a vessel dispatch without advancing a good deal of our own stock, which if

[15] Where cargo accounts list fish in quintals, seven quintals are reckoned to a hogs head.

laid out in purchasing the very same sort of goods, at proper seasons, that are consigned to us, would afford more profit and less trouble than what we gain by our commissions." He had, he told William, informed all his "northern correspondents," except the Pepperrells and one or two others, that he was not taking any more consignments of that nature. In reply, William assured Kerby that he agreed with what the latter had to say "relating to the fatigue in the disposal of a lumber cargo," thanked him for not giving up his business, and then went on sending more lumber.[16]

It is quite likely that in the West India trade of the outports refuse cod was a less important commodity than has generally been supposed. In several instances when William Pepperrell's accounts distinguish between codfish, on the one hand, and hake, haddock, and pollock—or "scale" fish, as they were called—on the other, the latter composed the bulk of his consignments of fish and sold in the West Indies at a price from one to five shillings below that of cod.[17]

Although it was sugar, with its by-products, that gave the West Indies their economic importance, the islands produced a number of commodities—cotton, ginger, indigo, cocoa, fustic, lime juice, and lignum vitae—that entered to a minor extent into their trade with England and the northern colonies. Like other New England merchants, William Pepperrell occasionally dabbled in these minor products. Now and then he instructed his captains or wrote to his correspondents to include some "cotton wool" in their return cargoes. But the supply was so limited that unless his vessel arrived early in the year cotton was apt to be off the market.[18] If any remained at the end of the season, even so close an associate as Thomas Kerby preferred to ship on his own, rather than William's, account,

[16] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, May 1, 1725, MeHS MSS., Book II; Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Kerby, Aug. 2, 1725, *ibid.*

[17] Account of sales, sloop *Molly's* cargo, 1721. Eleven hogsheads of scalefish sold for 12*s.* and 12*s.* 6*d.* per quintal. Two of cod sold for 13*s.* 6*d.* *Ibid.*, Book I. Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Sept. 15, 1725, in which Kerby wrote that he hoped to get 15*s.* or 16*s.* for Wm. Pepperrell's scalefish and 20*s.* for cod, *ibid.*, Book II.

[18] A list of exports from Antigua for the year 1719–1720 shows that approximately 75 per cent of the island's cotton was shipped in the six months prior to Sept. 25, Oliver, *op. cit.*, I, xcii. Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Oct. 7, 1725, MeHS MSS., Book II.

although in so doing on one occasion he acted contrary to William's instructions and disregarded the Pepperrells' favorable balance.[19] Nevertheless, whether as part of a shipment belonging to William himself or as one to be handled on commission, a few bags of cotton from time to time found their way into the Pepperrell warehouse. Of the remaining products of secondary importance, only lignum vitae seemed to appeal to William as a suitable return. This was the hard tropical wood used in shipbuilding, particularly for blocks and sheaves. By 1725, however, there was little or none of it left standing in Antigua. Most of the supply, according to Kerby, was coming from the Virgin Islands, but he promised William that if he met with some that was good in quality he would be sure to send him whatever amount he desired.[20]

A part of the returns received by New England merchants from their West India trade came in the form of sterling bills and specie with which they maintained their London accounts and paid for their imports of English goods.[21] Although William Pepperrell added to his sterling credit by his trade with Antigua and Barbados, he did so for the most part not by purchasing bills of exchange, but by having his correspondents make direct shipments of sugar and molasses to England on his account. With respect to specie returns, however, he followed the example of the other merchants and found his West India trade a convenient source of ready cash. When his brigantine *William and Dorothy* sailed for Barbados in May, 1718, he instructed the captain to be sure to bring back fifty pounds in heavy silver pieces of eight; the following year the master of the *Prosperous* was given similar orders. "If rum should be above twenty pence per gallon," ran William's letter to Captain Clampitt, "bring all your effects in money, but bring me certainly if you can fifty pounds money if you come directly here." [22] Unfortunately the total number and amount of all remittances such as these cannot be arrived at. On one occasion, in October, 1716, he transferred 250 ounces of Spanish coin from Kittery to Boston, but no clue

[19] Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Kerby, Aug. 2, 1725, MeHS MSS., Book II; Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Oct. 7, 1725, *ibid.*

[20] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Oct. 7, 1725, *ibid.*

[21] Nettels, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85; Channing, *op. cit.*, II, 511–512.

[22] Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Wm. Knowles, May 22, 1718, HUHL MSS.; Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Edward Clampitt, Nov. 14, 1719, MeHS MSS., Book II.

exists which would indicate either how much of the coin came from the West Indies or what part it comprised of his total holding of cash at that time.[23]

The specialized economy of the West Indies, the New England demand, and the direction of William Pepperrell's other lines of trade being what they were, it followed as a matter of course that rum, molasses, and sugar would be his major commodity returns. Of these, he imported two hogsheads of rum for every one of molasses and sugar. It would be somewhat misleading, however, to speak of William Pepperrell as a "West India merchant." No one market completely absorbed his attention. While some of his sloops and brigantines were following the route to the Indies, other Pepperrell vessels beat along the coast to Carolina and Virginia or made their way across the seas to Spain, Portugal, and the wine islands. Still others headed for Newfoundland, nine hundred miles northeast of Piscataqua, where New England merchants had acquired a virtual monopoly of the island's trade.

In the thirty-five years that had intervened since William Pepperrell made his start as a Newfoundland trader, that island had become an important commercial outpost of the northern colonies. In the early days of the trade New England shipmasters had, in true bumboat fashion, peddled their "snuff and tobaccy, and excellent jacky" from ship to ship of the English fishing fleet, but the growth of a permanent population created a steadier demand and simplified the process of trade. By 1715 the year-round population, including resident planters, "byeboatmen," and their servants, had risen to nearly five thousand persons who subsisted for the most part on provisions and supplies imported from New England.[24] During the summer months, moreover, the demand was sharpened by the arrival of the fishing fleet from England, with perhaps fifteen hundred men and a vague but considerable number of "passengers." [25] While the needs of a growing population, permanent and transient,

[23] Receipt of Benjamin Clarke, Kittery, Oct. 17, 1716. As the standard piece of eight was then valued at about eight shillings per ounce in Massachusetts, the value of the coin was roughly £100, MeHS MSS., Book I.

[24] Byeboatmen were entrepreneurs who came to the island for a few years, leased stage room from the resident planters, and hired servants to carry on inshore fishing from small boats, Innis, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 144, 152.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 151n.

created a market, at the same time the changing character of the fishery made the old entrepôt trade even more important than it had formerly been. As the inshore fishery came into the hands of the byeboatkeepers, the English fishing vessels turned to bank fishing. The byeboatmen and residents, who controlled the stage room, cured the catch of the fishing vessels and also sold them fish taken by inshore operations, in return for English and Continental goods and bills of exchange which were traded for supplies imported from New England. In this way the English fishing vessels became more and more involved in commercial activities.[26] This entrepôt trade and the needs of the island itself in one year attracted from New England an estimated six hundred hogsheads of rum and £10,000 worth of bread and flour, pork, molasses, tobacco, and livestock.[27]

Of all the New England merchants engaged in the Newfoundland trade, none was more favorably situated than William Pepperrell. He had been one of the first to engage in it, and years of experience had familiarized him with the requirements of the trade. He was well acquainted with several of the English shipmasters. He could assemble a suitable cargo without too much difficulty, since lumber, greatly in demand at Newfoundland for building and cooperage purposes, was a native product of the Piscataqua region; and his own trade with the West Indies and southern colonies provided him with the goods to complete his cargoes without need of relying upon other merchants.

William's vessels left Piscataqua for Newfoundland during August and the latter part of July. By October they had exchanged their cargoes for a return lading and were ready to leave for home.[28] Although it was occasionally possible for a vessel to take a West Indies sailing and a Newfoundland sailing in the same year, it was not often done. It was, however, not uncommon for the Pepperrell

[26] Failure to recognize the gradual disappearance of the early distinction between "sackships" (i.e., trading vessels) and fishing vessels mars an otherwise excellent description of the Newfoundland trade and fishery in L. H. Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution* (7 vols., New York, 1936–1950; additional volumes forthcoming), II, 249–262.

[27] Innis, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Nettels, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–78.

[28] Pepperrell accounts for the period 1717–1726 indicate dates for six sailings: one on July 25, or shortly thereafter, and five ranging from about Aug. 8 to Aug. 23. Two vessels, one of which left Piscataqua about Aug. 13, were ready to return sometime in October.

vessels to alternate their sailings by going to Newfoundland one year, or for two or three years consecutively, and then to the West Indies or elsewhere.[29]

In view of the notoriously high consumption of rum at Newfoundland, the quantities shipped by William Pepperrell seem surprisingly small. The sales of the *William and Jane*'s cargo in 1717 included, for example, only 531 gallons (about five and a half hogsheads). A sloop in 1719 carried no rum at all in its cargo. The following summer the sloop *Prosperous* carried only two hogsheads and the *John and Humphrey* in 1721 only one.[30]

In view also of the stress laid by historians upon Newfoundland's importance as an entrepôt for the illegal re-export of enumerated commodities, one would expect to find sugar and molasses, naval stores, and tobacco in far greater quantities than William Pepperrell actually shipped.[31] As it was, the enumerated goods sold in Newfoundland from on board these four vessels totaled only twelve barrels of tar and pitch, four barrels of sugar, five hogsheads and one tierce of molasses, and slightly more than three hogsheads of tobacco.

The bulk of the four cargoes consisted of pine boards and planks and oak staves and hoops; but in sales value the lumber and West India goods were almost equal. The rum, molasses, and sugar shipped on three of the four vessels sold at Newfoundland for approximately £155; the lumber that was included in all four, £165. The tobacco brought in another £85, and the naval stores, livestock, pork, and provisions that filled out the shipments sold for about £50.

[29] The sloop *John and Humphrey,* however, sailed from Piscataqua for Antigua early in Jan. 1721, and returned in time to sail for Canso and Newfoundland late in July. Bill of lading dated Jan. 5, 1721, and letter of instruction to Capt. John More, July 25, 1721, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[30] Account of sales of the brigantine *William and Jane*'s cargo, Oct., 1717; accounts of the sloop *Prosperous* from Newfoundland, 1720; bill of lading, sloop *John and Humphrey,* Piscataqua, July 25, 1721, MeHS MSS., Book I; bill of lading, sloop *Prosperous,* Piscataqua, Aug. 23, 1720, *ibid.,* Book II; accounts of sales of sloop [name torn] at Newfoundland, John Dearing master, 1719, Frost Papers (Mr. Joseph W. P. Frost, Kittery Point, Me.). The prices received from the *John and Humphrey*'s cargo have been estimated from the accounts of the other three vessels.

[31] For an account of the Newfoundland trade that places undue emphasis on its illicit aspects, see R. G. Lounsbury, "Yankee Trade at Newfoundland," *New England Quarterly,* III (1930), 607–626.

Since Newfoundland offered in return a wider variety of goods than the sugar islands and since in the Newfoundland trade the master of the vessel was more often responsible for the actual buying and selling of a cargo, William's instructions to his captains were considerably more thorough than they were in the case of a West India voyage. The type of returns that particularly interested William Pepperrell and the diverse character of the return cargoes are perhaps best described in his orders to Captain Enoch Mittlebury, who later had so stormy and troublesome a voyage to Barbados. At this time, August, 1720, Captain Mittlebury was bound for Newfoundland as master of the sloop *Prosperous* with instructions to

> sail directly for Newfoundland into what harbor or harbors you shall think best, there sell and dispose of your said cargo now on board for our best advantage for silver money or gold, good bills of exchange, which make payable to Capt. Henry Pearden, merchant in Topsham, what old iron you can get, nails, spikes, linen cloths and English goods, if cheap, gun-powder, if you buy that which is good for £4 10s. per barrell or hundred-weight, what cordage and canvas you can purchase, likewise . . . fishing boots, them what are large and good, nets, especially buy nets if you can get them for 27s. or 28s. per pair or under. After you have disposed of your cargo and got the produce on board get as many passengers as you can and make what dispatch you can directly home here. If you can purchase anything else which you may think will turn more to our advantage we would have you embrace it. We would have you purchase a cask of good brandy and a cask of good claret if you can meet that which is good. If good French brandy should be for 3s. per gallon or under then purchase four or five casks, or if good salad oil, jars that hold a gallon, should be four shillings per jar or under, then purchase some. . . . Leave nothing of your cargo behind you nor make no debts. If oil should be more than the price before mentioned buy half a dozen jars. If Captain Pounce or Captain Stafford should be there advise with them. If you go to St. John's be sure to call upon Mr. William Keen for the net proceeds of 7500 feet of pine boards left him to sell for my account by Captain William Knowles and get it of him in something or another. If you likewise should come near where Thomas Ford lives I would have you call upon him for what he is indebted to me.[32]

[32] Wm. Pepperrell to Enoch Mittlebury, Aug. 2, 1720, MeHS. MSS., Book II. Capt. Pounce, a kinsman of the Henry Pearden mentioned, was an English shipmaster, as Stafford was also, and Wm. Knowles was master of the Pepperrells' brigantine *Wil-*

Some goods that William specifically mentioned seem to have been unavailable when the *Prosperous* arrived at Newfoundland. Possibly prices were higher than William had anticipated, since most of the brandy and all of the salad oil that Captain Mittlebury brought home cost from three to six pence more per gallon than the price indicated in his instructions. At any rate, his return cargo included no old iron, nails, or spikes, no cordage or canvas, no claret, and no fishing nets.

Commodity returns from Newfoundland fell under three general headings: first, such luxury goods as silks, wines, and brandy; second, common necessities such as textiles, cutlery, ironware, clothing, boots and shoes; and finally, marine supplies for New England's foremost industry. Their relative importance can be gauged from the voyage accounts of the *William and Jane* in 1717, the *Prosperous* in 1720, and the *Success* in 1736. The total purchase value of the three combined cargoes amounted to £317 14*s*., of which luxury goods accounted for some £82, the second group of commodities approximately £87, and marine supplies only £57.[33]

The luxury goods were almost certainly all European products. In two instances, that of "five dozen Lyons" and one cask of Spanish brandy, the origin was obvious; and presumably the remainder of the silks and brandy and the wines and salad oil were also of French or Spanish origin. It should be remembered that the Staple Act of 1663 required all such goods to be discharged at an English port and then to be reladen for export to the colonies, but in the case of French products compliance with the Act was rendered extremely difficult by a series of import restrictions. As a result of Parliament's rejection of the commercial clauses of the Treaty of Utrecht, the

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liam and Dorothy. Wm. Keen, when reporting to the Board of Trade in 1707 on the "illegal" trade carried on by Andrew and Jonathan Belcher, identified himself as a "merchant, inhabitant of Newfoundland" (Lounsbury, "Yankee Trade at Newfoundland," p. 611). According to another authority, at about this time "New England enterprise under William Keen" financed the development of the Newfoundland salmon fishery (Innis, *op. cit.*, p. 149n.).

[33] See the accounts of the *William and Jane* and of the *Prosperous,* previously cited. The account book for the voyage of the *Success* is in the possession of Mr. J. W. P. Frost of Kittery Point, and a tabulated list of the purchases and returns is in HUHL MSS. The figure of £317 14*s*. includes bills of exchange and money received in trade, but does not include revenue from passengers.

entry of French silks, wines, and brandy into England continued to be obstructed by prohibitory duties.[34] It is quite improbable, therefore, that any products of France received by William Pepperrell by way of Newfoundland had ever touched the shores of England, unless drawbacks, if they applied to re-exported French goods, were sufficient to overcome the excessive import duties. His instructions to Captain Curtis, master of the *William and Jane,* to purchase one or two casks of French brandy and a similar quantity of claret if he could come upon reasonable terms, and to "be private in it," would seem to be presumptive evidence that William was aware of the questionable character of some of his goods. On other occasions, however, he instructed his captains to purchase French goods without enjoining them to secrecy, so that his intent in this instance, obscured as it is by his casual attitude toward punctuation, may have been merely that Captain Curtis was not to divulge what he paid for the goods if prices were low. His letter to Captain Curtis closed with the admonition: "Be sure break no Acts of Trade whereby you may bring the vessel in trouble." [35] But no undue significance should be attached to Colonel William's warning, for he often ended his letters of instructions in this fashion.

Wine and brandy and other Continental goods were also acquired by direct exchange with the French at Cape Breton Island and Newfoundland, an exchange facilitated by William's interest in the fisheries at Canso and St. Peters, the latter a French settlement on Cape Breton Island directly across from Canso. Newfoundland and Canso were alternative markets, either of which, depending upon the prevailing conditions of price and demand, would serve as well as the other. If a cargo could not be disposed of to the English, William instructed his captains to sell it to the French. Judging from his orders to Captain John More, master of the *John and Humphrey,* the difficulties attending trade with the French over which William was most concerned were not related to the Acts of Trade and Navigation. Captain More was instructed, in case he sold his cargo to the English at Newfoundland, to bring back bills of exchange payable to Roger Prowse, a merchant at Exeter in England with whom William Pepperrell dealt. But, cautioned Wil-

[34] Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History,* IV, 108–112, 357–358.

[35] Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Foxal Curtis, Aug. 13, 1717, MeHS MSS., Book II.

liam, "Mind that your bills are good. . . . Take no bills of any Frenchmen. . . . You must observe how you deal with them, for they reckon their money double, so you must guide yourself accordingly." [36]

There were other disadvantages that must have reduced the attractiveness of a direct trade with the French. "Frontier incidents" were an ever-present possibility. That they could have tragic consequences was illustrated in the summer of 1723, when the unwelcome news reached Colonel William Pepperrell that his son-in-law John Watkins had been "barbarously murdered at Canso either by the French or Indians." [37]

The relative extent of William Pepperrell's trade in French and Spanish goods by way of Newfoundland or Nova Scotia is of more significance than the mere fact that he engaged in such trade. With a value of about £82, all the wines, brandy, and silk goods brought back on board the *William and Jane,* the *Prosperous,* and the *Success* comprised only a little more than one-third of the purchase value of the commodity returns and only approximately 25 per cent of the total returns of the three vessels. Noncommodity returns, namely, bills of exchange, money, and passengers, were important items. Bills of exchange and money to the value of some £91 3*s.* were included in the returns of all three vessels, while the *Success* earned an additional £35 10*s.* in passenger fares. Whether or not William's importation of French and Spanish goods contravened the laws of Parliament, to place it in proper perspective requires that it be considered not only in connection with the rest of his Newfoundland trade but also in relation to the whole of his legitimate trade in every direction.

In order to complete the pattern, the lines of trade that ran south to Virginia and Carolina and across the Atlantic to southern Europe and England must be drawn into the picture. Northern New England, Newfoundland, and the West Indies complemented each other rather satisfactorily, with Newfoundland, as well as the West Indies, providing an outlet for products that were native to the Piscataqua region. This was not the case, however, with respect to Carolina and

[36] Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. John More, July 25, 1721, *ibid.*

[37] Wm. Pepperrell to Maj. Cosby, Aug. 12, 1723, MHS MSS. Cosby was the military commander at Canso.

the southern colonies, where the local supply of fish adequately filled local needs and where yellow pine and white oak competed in trade with the white pine and red oak of New England. Nevertheless, northern demand for southern products was sufficient to overcome the hindrances to trade. Tobacco was of course a part, but only a part, of the story. New England shipbuilders and Newfoundland fishermen required large quantities of tar and pitch for their own use in addition to that re-exported to England and the West Indies. Cured meats and foodstuffs from the south likewise found a ready sale in the New England market, not only for local consumption, but for reshipment to Newfoundland and the West Indies, where climate and geography, on the one hand, and extreme specialization, on the other, made heavy importations of provisions necessary.

Shortly after his first appearance as a Newfoundland trader, the elder Pepperrell, it will be recalled, extended his activities to the West Indies and to Maryland and Virginia and within a few years began trading to North Carolina. Although he continued to send an occasional vessel to Virginia, Carolina was his most important southern market in the decade following Queen Anne's War.

In 1713 and in six or seven of the ten years following, at least one Pepperrell vessel sailed for North Carolina each winter.[38] In 1722 there appear to have been two sailings, and again in the following winter one vessel called at the Albemarle Sound region while another was trading in the neighborhood of Bath, at the head of Pamlico Sound. Ordinarily, Carolina-bound vessels took their departure from Kittery in December, spent two or three months trading, and then returned in late April or May.

For Messrs. Pepperrell, merchants at Piscataqua, the problem of a suitable southbound cargo was not overly difficult. Their Newfoundland, West India, and English trade provided the solution. Three hogsheads of rum, two of molasses, one barrel of sugar, sixty-six bushels of salt, and a bag of cotton wool made up the principal part of one cargo in December, 1722.[39] During the following season

[38] No sailings are recorded for 1715, 1717, and 1720; but in July, 1718, the *Hannah and Sarah* discharged a cargo of corn which came from either Pennsylvania or one of the southern colonies.

[39] The rest of the cargo consisted of seven iron pots and one hogshead of "sundry English goods," bill of lading on the sloop *Mary,* Piscataqua, Dec. 7, 1722, MeHS MSS., Book II.

rum, molasses, and sugar comprised, in value, almost half the North Carolina sales. Except for sixty-five or seventy bushels of salt and a negligible quantity of mackerel and cod, the remainder of the sales in the winter of 1723–1724 consisted of powder and shot, nails, knives and forks, osnaburgs, kerseys, fine linen and hollands, one iron pot, two hats, a large rug, and fifteen yards of "stuff." Some of these may have been imported by the Pepperrells direct from England, but the chances are that most of them came by way of Newfoundland. The cargo for which these goods were exchanged consisted predominantly of naval stores, to the amount of some 130 barrels of pitch and 60 of tar. "Country bills" and one promissory note to the approximate value of £29 and five barrels of pork totaling £11 9*s.* were next in importance. The remainder of the returns consisted of about forty pounds of tallow, a few hams, one deerskin and a small quantity of hides, peas and walnuts.[40]

Compared with the Carolina trade of someone like Thomas Amory of Boston, that of the Pepperrells was indeed trifling. Amory, who had his own turpentine distillery at Boston, wrote in 1726 or thereabouts that he expected to receive twelve hundred barrels of tar and pitch from North Carolina in one season. He valued one cargo that he received at £721.[41]

The North Carolina trade was profitable, and indeed possible, only within a commercial pattern as tightly integrated as that of England and her colonies, for without their West India trade, their Newfoundland trade, or their close commercial contact with England, New England merchants would have been hard put to find goods suitable for the Carolina market. The commercial interdependence of the old empire would customarily be sketched, at this point, by tracing the wake left by a vessel as it leisurely followed the "sugar triangle" or any one of a number of other possible triangular courses around which the goods of trade flowed in unhurried fashion. Unfortunately the activities of the Pepperrells did not conform to so simple a pattern. Their trade was considerably more intricate in one respect, and at the same time less intricate in another. The commodities in which they dealt moved in labyrin-

[40] Total sales amounted to approximately £175, of which about £85 came from the sale of rum (about 177 gallons, at 5*s.* 6*d.* and 7*s.* per gallon), molasses (about 88 gallons, at 3*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* per gallon), and sugar (about 212 pounds, at 12*d.* and 14*d.* per pound). Carolina Account Book, Jan.–March, 1724, J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point.

[41] Weeden, *op. cit.*, II, 503, 590–591.

thine lines; whereas their vessels shuttled back and forth between Kittery on the one hand and the West Indies, Newfoundland, North Carolina, Spain and Portugal, and England on the other, leaving a pattern that resembled nothing so much as the ribs of a Chinese fan. There were, however, occasional deviations.

Twice during this period the sugar triangle was followed by a Pepperrell vessel: once in 1718 by the *Bonetta* and in 1721 by the *Molly*. Both vessels carried lumber and fish to Barbados, then loaded sugars for London, where the *Bonetta,* and probably also the *Molly,* was sold.[42] The *Bonetta*'s voyage, however, was unpremeditated. The failure of Henry Hole, the Pepperrells' Barbados correspondent and part owner of the *Bonetta,* to sell the vessel at Barbados and his eagerness, most likely, to take advantage of what Elias Pearse described as "topping" sugar prices, together with a certain amount of ambiguity and confusion in the master's instructions, sent the *Bonetta* off to London contrary to Colonel William Pepperrell's intent. On receiving word from the master that a cargo for London was being loaded at Barbados, Colonel William wrote to him in no uncertain terms that he had expected the vessel to return from the West Indies to Kittery, where a cargo for England awaited her.[43] But it was now too late for Colonel William to do anything except acquiesce in the new arrangements. After a protracted stay at Barbados, while expenses mounted and seamen deserted, the *Bonetta* finally set sail, and on November 12, 1718, nine months after her departure from Piscataqua, she arrived in London. Her cargo—146 hogsheads, 16 tierces, and 12 barrels of sugar and 95 tons of "wood" —was not a full cargo "by a great deal," as Pearse wrote to the Pepperrells. Only five hogsheads of sugar had been shipped on the Pepperrells' account, and these Pearse sold at a price of forty-one shillings per hundredweight. The vessel's long delay had proved costly, Pearse wrote, for sugar prices had been slipping downward rapidly. Had the Pepperrells' cargo been coarse sugar, he continued, like the sixty hogsheads on his own account, it could have been sold

[42] Capt. Edward Clampitt to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, May 25, 1718; Elias Pearse to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, London, Oct. 22, 1718, MeHS MSS., Book I; Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Enoch Mittlebury, Feb. 10, 1721, *ibid.,* Book II.

[43] The author has traced the *Bonetta*'s voyage in some detail in his article "A Sea of Troubles: The Voyage of *Bonetta,* 1718," *American Neptune,* IX (April, 1949), 133–141.

to greater advantage, since the margin of profit on coarse sugars was higher although the price was lower.[44] A number of vexing incidents, not least of which was a wage dispute with the crew, combined with the disappointing sale of the cargo to produce an unsatisfactory voyage.

The North Carolina trade, in particular, lent itself to triangular voyages one point of which rested on the West Indies. The commodities dealt with in the trade moved in this triangular fashion; and since it was possible either to call at Carolina and arrive at the West Indies before the sugar crop was entirely gone or, conversely, to leave the West Indies at the end of the season and arrive at Carolina in good time for a market, vessels in the trade sometimes followed the same course as the movement of goods. In the fall of 1714 the Pepperrells' brigantine *Mary,* Robert Cutt master, set sail over what turned out to be a variation of the North Carolina triangle. The *Mary* went first to Barbados, where she discharged her cargo of fish and Piscataqua pine and took on a lading of goods for Carolina.[45] But instead of returning from there to Kittery, the *Mary* went back to the West Indies with a cargo of rice and made another trip back to Carolina before coming home at last to Kittery.[46] In the fall and winter of 1720–1721 three Pepperrell vessels, the *John and Humphrey,* the *Prosperous,* and the *Hannah and Sarah,* left Piscataqua for the West Indies. One of them, the sloop *Hannah and Sarah,* had instructions to return by way of North Carolina, but never completed the last leg of the triangle. Either by carelessness or misadventure Captain Walker arrived at Carolina without clearance papers, and his vessel was promptly seized. The other two vessels apparently returned direct to New England.

With their own West India requirements thus amply provided for, the Pepperrells could afford to tie up another vessel in the sugar trade to England. They accordingly directed Captain Mittlebury of the sloop *Molly,* on February 10, 1721, to take his vessel to Bar-

[44] *Ibid.,* p. 140.

[45] Accounts of the *Mary*'s "second voyage . . . 1714"; invoice dated Dec. 30, 1714, MeHS MSS., Book I.

[46] The rice cargo would seem to indicate that South Carolina, not North Carolina, was the *Mary*'s destination from Barbados. If such was the case, it is the only evidence found of the Pepperrells' having traded there. Account of sales of Capt. Cutt's cargo, April, 1715, HUHL MSS.

bados and, after disposing of his cargo "for our best advantage," to lay out the net proceeds in good muscovado sugar, logwood, fustic, cotton, and ginger, to load whatever Henry Hole's successor, Benjamin Bullard, had to offer, and to complete the cargo with what freight the captain could obtain. "It being a good time of year," wrote Colonel Pepperrell, "I would have you stow her well and fill her up full of one thing and another, and make what dispatch possible you can, otherwise the voyage will be ruined." Upon arrival at London all the goods carried on the Pepperrells' account and the proceeds of the freight were to be turned over to Elias Pearse, and the vessel sold. "Assist Mr. Pearse all possible you can in the sale of her," Colonel William added, "and when you return here again, if nothing falls out unexpected, [I] will endeavor to get you a better vessel. Be sure break no Acts of Trade whereby you may bring the vessel in trouble," he concluded. That the *Molly*'s voyage to England was contingent upon the Pepperrells' receiving their own supply of West India goods from Barbados was unmistakably set forth in a postscript to the master's instructions. If the *Prosperous,* William wrote, "should miscarry and hath not been to Barbados when you come there, then wait upon Mr. Benjamin Bullard for what he has in his hands of ours and desire him to ship it me in good rum, and get what freight you can and come directly home here." [47]

The *Molly* arrived at Barbados on March 21, and Captain Mittlebury, learning that the *Prosperous* had already been there, proceeded to load for London. Earnings from his southbound cargo were, however, disappointingly small. So depressed was the price of staves that he sold only a part of those he brought from Piscataqua, and he proposed to use the rest of them as dunnage on the voyage to London in the hope of getting a better price for them there. Furthermore, his expenses at Barbados had been unusually heavy, for after her stormy passage from New England the *Molly* had needed a new bowsprit and rudder and other extensive repairs. Under the circumstances the net proceeds of his cargo from Piscataqua sufficed to purchase only one hogshead and three tierces of clayed sugar and a barrel of muscovado. Moreover, the sugar crop, Captain Mittlebury reported, was "very bad and backward," and

[47] Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Enoch Mittlebury, Feb. 10, 1721, MeHS MSS., Book II.

this made it difficult for him to obtain freight. He was afraid the scarcity of sugar and the oversupply of shipping would divert freight away from a single deck vessel like the *Molly*. However, with what freight he could get and with the sugar he purchased, besides some twenty-six hogsheads remaining from the proceeds of the *Prosperous'* cargo, Captain Mittlebury set sail for London about April 29.[48] Presumably the *Molly* was sold and Captain Mittlebury got his better vessel, for in the following spring he served briefly as master of the sloop *Cocoanut* and then took command of the *Mary* in the Carolina-Antigua trade.

His voyage in the *Mary* in the winter of 1722–1723 took him around the Carolina–West Indies triangle in reverse direction to that followed by Captain Cutt eight years earlier.[49] Mittlebury's instructions bade him "embrace the first fair wind God shall send" and sail for North Carolina, there to dispose of his cargo for "good white oak hogshead staves, large hogshead hoops, live hogs, poultry, pork, corn, pitch, tar—what you shall think most for our advantage for the Antigua market." [50] Colonel Pepperrell cautioned him to purchase only as much tobacco as he could "contrive to pay the duties of" and instructed him to deliver everything he carried to Thomas Kerby at Antigua, where he was to take on whatever Kerby had for him and as much freight for Kittery or Boston as would give him a full cargo, provided he could obtain it "without hindering much time." His orders concluded with the fairly common injunction, "Be sure to clear at all offices and break no Acts of Trade." This last was no idle reminder in the light of what had happened to the *Hannah and Sarah*. The seizure of that sloop, the year before, probably determined the direction of Mittlebury's voyage and partly accounts for Colonel Pepperrell's insistence on his making a quick turn-around. In his attempts to obtain a satisfactory settlement of the case, Colonel Pepperrell depended upon his ship-

[48] Capt. Enoch Mittlebury to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, April 16, 1721, MeHS, Book I. The muscovado cost Captain Mittlebury 17*s*. per hundredweight. The clayed cost 27*s*. 6*d*. and 35*s*. per hundredweight. In spite of Capt. Mittlebury's complaints about the poorness of the crop, the prices do not seem excessive. See Capt. Mittlebury to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, April 29, 1721, and invoice of cargo shipped on the *Molly*, 1721, MeHS MSS., Book I.

[49] Mittlebury's vessel was a sloop, apparently a new vessel bearing the same name as Captain Cutt's brigantine.

[50] Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Enoch Mittlebury, Dec. 5, 1722, MeHS MSS., Book II.

masters, the much-traveled Mittlebury among them, to act as couriers.

The affair of the *Hannah and Sarah* proved to be the Pepperrells' most troublesome experience with the regulations designed to enforce the Acts of Trade.[51] In spite of precedent and the fact that "the best gentlemen" of the province had been willing to sign a surety bond, the North Carolina officials had refused to give Captain Walker a chance to replace his missing papers. One of the principal business associates of the Pepperrells in North Carolina, a Colonel Edward Moseley, happened also to be one of the leading lawyers of that province, but, because he had been disbarred for three years as a result of his political activities against Governor Eden, he was unable to appear on their behalf in the legal proceedings. In fact, the zeal of the authorities in seizing the sloop seems to have rested more on the Pepperrells' association with Moseley than on any suspicion that they were engaged in illicit trade. The *Hannah and Sarah* had been quickly condemned, and within two days both vessel and cargo were sold at auction. Colonel William received the news with a violent outburst of indignation. "Such a barbarous action I do think never was known amongst those that pretend to be Christians," he wrote to Moseley. "I have traded to your country about thirty years and had always a design to serve the country as well as myself, but such proceedings make a whole country's character suffer." If he were not given satisfaction in the matter, he declared, he was "resolved to carry it home." He had, continued William, "upwards of a thousand pounds there and a good friend able to manage that affair to advantage; and I will spend every penny of it, but I will have justice done me." [52] Having obtained certificates from Barbados testifying that Captain Walker had legally cleared when he sailed, and finally denied the opportunity of compounding with the local Carolina authorities, Colonel Pepperrell appealed to the High Court of Admiralty in London. On February 15, 1725, three years after the seizure of the sloop, the appeal was heard; but the registrar of the North Carolina court

[51] The *Hannah and Sarah* episode is more extensively treated in the author's article "Reefs and Shoals of Colonial Justice: The Case of the *Hannah and Sarah*," *New England Quarterly,* Vol. XXIII (Sept., 1950).

[52] Wm. Pepperrell to Edward Moseley, April 10, 1722, MeHS MSS., Book II.

refused to transmit the records of the original trial to England. Although the Court of Admiralty held the North Carolina official guilty of contempt and made an effort to obtain the records, Colonel William was still in search of satisfaction five years later. By then his agent in London had died, Governor Eden and also the Collector at Carolina were dead, and Moseley would have nothing further to do with the matter.

When one of the vessels ran into trouble nearer home, the story was very different. Just a year after the seizure of the *Hannah and Sarah,* the sloop *Prosperous* fell into the hands of the New Hampshire authorities. The records do not make clear the nature of the sloop's transgression, but whatever it was, the outcome was not long in doubt. As in the case of the *Mary,* the vessel that had been detained by Lieutenant Governor Usher back in 1693, only a few weeks went by before the *Prosperous* was out of custody and on her appointed way to London.[53] In the release of the *Mary* the Massachusetts government had taken official interest, but no similar pressure seems to have been exerted on behalf of the *Prosperous.* Nor did Colonel Pepperrell enjoy the same personal relationship with Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire, by whose order the *Prosperous* was seized, as he had with John Usher. Although Wentworth had made his start years before as master of a brigantine belonging to Colonel William, the two men were now bitter rivals. The Pepperrells' standing and the weight of social status seem to have been responsible for the happy issue of the *Prosperous* affair. In the case of the *Hannah and Sarah* the personal and politico-social influence of the local aristocracy was the most formidable obstacle that Colonel Pepperrell faced, and the corresponding influence that he could bring to bear diminished, he found, according to the distance over which it was exerted.

The *Prosperous,* safely out of Wentworth's grasp, sailed direct for Plymouth, England, and London, where she discharged a cargo of lumber and spars, and then sailed for Lisbon to take on a return lading of salt for New England. This was a triangle that Pepperrell vessels seldom followed. While the *Prosperous* was at London, or perhaps a few days after her departure, Elias Pearse, to whom the vessel had been consigned, wrote the Pepperrells that sugar prices

[53] Elias Pearse to Wm. Pepperrell, London, May 21, 1724, NEHG MSS., Book II.

would remain high all summer. He suggested, therefore, that upon her return to Piscataqua the *Prosperous* be sent to Barbados, "to load sugars home and then away to [the] Isle of May for salt to Piscataqua." The voyage, he believed, could "be accomplished in less than a year and . . . [would] turn to as good account as any." [54] But whether the Pepperrells acted on Pearse's advice does not appear.

Although the Piscataqua had probably more direct intercourse with England than any other northern port except Boston, not many Pepperrell vessels sailed from Kittery direct for England. In 1718 Colonel William had thought of sending a small vessel to Topsham or Exeter with deal boards and building lumber, and had he done so, it would have been a profitable venture. For some reason, however, he changed his mind.[55] New England as a whole was highly esteemed by British mercantilists as a market for English goods, but the Piscataqua approached the mercantilist ideal more closely than any other section of the northern colonies by supplying England with something desirable and unobtainable at home, namely, masts for the Royal Navy. In this respect commercial contact between the Piscataqua and England resembled that of the tobacco colonies, and just as the tobacco trade of Virginia had fallen into the hands of the London merchants, so the Piscataqua mast trade was monopolized and the profits pocketed by naval contractors in England and their colonial agents.[56] For the Pepperrells, masts and spars were scarcely more than a good supplementary article of export to Barbados. Their vessels seldom engaged in the English mast trade, no doubt because the huge sticks in which the Royal Navy was chiefly interested required specially built ships. Part of the cargo of the *Prosperous* on her voyage to England consisted, however, of two small masts, a bowsprit, and about half a ton of turpentine, but it was not a large shipment. The bounty was so

[54] Elias Pearse to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, London, March 6, 1724, MeHS MSS., Book I. Invoice of cargo shipped on board the *Prosperous,* Lewen and Potter, West Lisbon, July 3, 1724, NEHG MSS., Book I.

[55] Roger Prowse to Wm. Pepperrell, Exeter, July 15, 1718; Prowse to Pepperrell, Exeter, Sept. 11, 1718, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[56] On the high regard in which New England was held as a market for English goods, see Nettels, *op. cit.,* chap. v, especially pp. 152–161. The monopoly control of the mast trade by English naval contractors and their agents is described in R. G Albion, *Forests and Sea Power* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), pp. 55–56.

trifling, Pearse informed the Pepperrells, that he could not get anyone to "meddle" with discounting the Navy bills received in payment.[57]

A constant trickle of imports nevertheless reached the Pepperrells direct from England, with London and the outports of Devon serving as sources of supply. From Henry Pearden of Topsham they received lines and other fishing supplies; and from Roger Prowse of Exeter they purchased drapers' goods and haberdasheries—stone-gray kerseys and baize in vivid colors, serges "of the newest fashion," mohair, silks, shalloons, waistcoat buttons, and hats.[58] Their consignments from London tended to consist of a different type of goods—cordage, linens, holland duck, and osnaburgs, primarily—and to be somewhat more costly than those received from Roger Prowse.[59]

The fact that West Country merchants enjoyed a share of the Pepperrells' trade is not surprising in view of the close personal and economic ties which from the very beginning had existed between the Piscataqua and the counties of southwestern England. To Colonel Pepperrell and to many of his neighbors, "home" meant not just England, but the hills and moors and harbor towns of Devon. There it was that he had proposed to settle down when at the beginning of the decade he entertained thoughts of retiring. Nor had the West Country fishing interests completely lost touch with the region to whose initial settlement they had contributed so much.

Instead of carrying on fishing operations from the Isles of Shoals and the other islands off the coast of Maine, West Country firms now loaded their vessels with freight for New England coastal towns, where they purchased return ladings of fish from the local fishermen. One parcel of woolens that William Pepperrell received from Roger Prowse came from Topsham on the *Port Royal* of

[57] Elias Pearse to Wm. Pepperrell, London, May 21, 1724, NEHG MSS., Book II.

[58] Invoice of goods shipped by Roger Prowse, Exeter, July 19, 1716, *ibid.,* Book I; Henry Pearden to Wm. Pepperrell, Exmouth, Aug. 7, 1719, *ibid.;* invoice of goods shipped by Roger Prowse, Exeter, July 1, 1718, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[59] Elias Pearse to Wm. Pepperrell, London, April 12, 1717, MeHS MSS., Book II; Pearse to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, London, March 6, 1724, *ibid.,* Book I; Wm. Pepperrell's account current with Joseph Paice and Son, 1725, HUHL MSS.; also invoice of goods shipped by Roger Prowse, Exeter, Feb. 20, 1717, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XIX (1865), 143.

Exeter, whose captain, John Filmore, Jr., on one of his trips ran into some trouble with his crew while awaiting a lading of fish at Marblehead.[60] Other consignments from Prowse were shipped from England on vessels owned by an Exeter firm, John Pyen and Company, for whom William Pepperrell, acting as agent, assembled cargoes and forwarded them from Piscataqua to Cadiz, Lisbon, Oporto, and Bilbao on Pyen's and other English-owned vessels.[61]

By 1719 John Pyen and Company seem to have been ready to sever their connection with the Pepperrells. Their trade with Newfoundland and New England, they complained to William Pepperrell, had been "driven at a loss these several years." The naval stores trade was "like to be spoiled by the knavery of the makers of pitch, tar and turpentine," which were, they asserted, "half-made" and "unfit for use," and they ventured their opinion that Parliament would probably repeal the bounty in the next session.[62] Similar complaints were frequently voiced by English naval officials and the Navy Board, but English merchants trading with the colonies have hitherto been considered the chief promoters of colonial naval stores and the most consistent supporters of England's naval stores policy. The fish trade, Pyen and Company continued, was no better than that in naval stores. Fishermen were an undependable sort, they wrote, and their catch "so ill-cured in Newfoundland and New England that we meet with nothing but discouragement at all foreign markets." Finally, the vagaries of New England exchange rates called forth their parting observation that "no one that deals there from hence [England] knows where he is. Plain dealing seems to be fled away from the earth, which makes the Bristol trade and many here to manage their business, without consignment, by the master or supercargo." [63] The difficulties of the trade seem to have discouraged others besides Pyen and Company, for after 1720 items relating to English-owned vessels diminished appreciably in the notarial records of Salem and Marblehead.[64]

[60] Prowse's invoice, July 19, 1716, cited in note 58 above. Capt. Filmore's difficulties at Marblehead are mentioned in Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century,* p. 87.

[61] Prowse's invoices of Feb. 20, 1717, and July 1, 1718, cited in notes 59 and 58 above; also John Pyen and Co. to Wm. Pepperrell, Exeter, July 16, 1718, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[62] Nettels, *op. cit.,* pp. 155–158.

[63] John Pyen and Co. to Wm. Pepperrell, July 16, 1718, and Sept. 9, 1718, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[64] Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century,* pp. 85–87.

Making matters worse for all merchants engaged in the Spanish and Portuguese trade, whether English or colonial merchants, were threats that war with Spain would at any moment be resumed. Scarcely five years after the Treaty of Utrecht left Philip of Anjou firmly seated on the throne of Spain, he began to undermine the peace of 1713 by invading Sardinia and Sicily, whereupon England broke off diplomatic relations with Spain and in concert with France, Holland, and Austria intervened by force to defeat Phillip's Italian schemes. Sir George Byng had engaged the Spanish fleet off Syracuse, Pyen and Company reported to William Pepperrell in February, 1719, and whether war would result they did not know. They therefore warned Colonel William that all vessels bound for Spain or Portugal must take extreme care and touch at Lisbon, Lagos Bay, or Gibraltar for information.[65] Spanish privateers were off the coast of Portugal as thick as herrings, and the likelihood that England would escape another war seemed to some English merchants exceedingly remote.[66] However, the destruction of Spain's naval power in the Mediterranean and the preponderant strength of the Quadruple Alliance were too decisive. Battles were fought, but there was no war.

Nevertheless it was not until 1723, three years after King Philip of Spain promised to undertake no further mischief and to maintain, for the future, friendly relations with England, that William Pepperrell re-entered the Iberian trade with his own vessels. He was not, of course, unknown in that trade, but for most of the decade following 1713 he seems to have had more profitable employment elsewhere for his vessels. In 1723, however, his brigantine *Industry* sailed for Lisbon followed, a few months later, by the sloop *Prosperous,* while another brigantine, the *Eagle,* sailed for Cadiz. The *Industry,* like the *Prosperous,* carried a cargo of lumber. After leaving Kittery the *Industry* called at St. Peters, on Cape Breton Island, to take in a lading of fish from one of the Pepperrells' fishing vessels, but finding no news of the latter, she continued on her way to Lisbon, where she discharged her lumber cargo into "the King's Yard." [67] This was in late October or early November. By November 30 William's agents at Lisbon were voicing their pious

[65] John Pyen and Co. to Wm. Pepperrell, Feb. 18, 1719, MeHS MSS., Book II.
[66] Henry Pearden to Wm. Pepperrell, Exmouth, Aug. 7, 1719, NEHG MSS., Book I.
[67] Gibbs, Lewen, and Potter to Wm. Pepperrell and Son, Lisbon, Nov. 30, 1723, *ibid.*

concern at the failure of the sloop *Prosperous* to arrive. Having been delayed by her troubles with Lieutenant Governor Wentworth, the *Prosperous* finally made her appearance in safety some four months later, and also unloaded her lumber into the King's Yard. Part of her cargo consisted of staves, which had to be placed in storage because the market was so glutted that no one would buy them unless "Navy Bills" were accepted as payment, at a discount. About the time the *Prosperous* reached Lisbon the *Eagle* arrived at the Bay of Cadiz after a lengthy voyage from Piscataqua. On January 31, 1724, William Pepperrell had requested Elias Pearse to obtain an additional £200 insurance on the vessel, but his letter never reached Pearse, and by the time a copy of the letter arrived, the *Eagle* was so long overdue that "no insurers would write" the extra amount. Soon afterward, however, Pearse saw, in "one of the new insurance offices," a list of vessels arrived at Cadiz, one of which was the *Eagle*. William had hoped that both the *Prosperous* and the *Eagle* would be sold. His Lisbon agents turned down one offer of something more than £600 sterling for the *Prosperous,* an offer which Pearse thought they should have accepted. When the future employment of the *Prosperous* had been the subject of correspondence a few months earlier, Pearse had urged the Pepperrells to send the vessel to Barbados for sugar if she were not sold on her present voyage. But William apparently intended in that case to have her load fish at Canso for another trip to Portugal. Pearse now pointed out that if the *Prosperous* tarried any longer at Lisbon awaiting another offer she would be too late for Canso. She was badly found, he continued; to fit her out would require a considerable expenditure, and never again would as high an offer be made. He was apparently correct.[68] Neither vessel was sold, and all three, the *Eagle, Prosperous,* and *Industry,* returned to Piscataqua with cargoes of salt. The next year the *Industry* again crossed the Atlantic and was at Genoa in February, 1725.[69]

[68] Elias Pearse to Wm. Pepperrell, London, May 21, 1724, and June 8, 1724, *ibid.,* Book II.

[69] Brigantine *Industry,* Capt. John Dearing, accounts from Lisbon, Nov. 10, 1723, *ibid.;* invoice of cargo shipped on board the *Prosperous,* Gibbs, Lewen, and Potter, West Lisbon, July 3, 1724, *ibid.,* Book I; receipt for cargo delivered on board the brigantine *Industry,* Capt. Thomas Clear, Genoa, Feb. 9, 1725, J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point.

In sending his vessels to Spain and Portugal, William Pepperrell was not striking out into unfamiliar paths of commerce. He had explored them, as he had the English trade and the Newfoundland and North Carolina trades, long before 1713. It may be that after Queen Anne's War he reshuffled his operations to adjust to whatever changes in the pattern the war might have brought. There is, for example, no evidence that during the war he engaged in the Newfoundland trade, his earliest field of activity and a conspicuous one during the postwar decade.

During the period from 1713 to 1723 at least eighteen or nineteen vessels seem to have joined the Pepperrell fleet. They included six brigantines, two "scouners," eight sloops, and one pink. The two schooners—*William and Mary* and *Bachelor*—made fishing voyages in the spring and summer of 1718, a fact worthy of remark as the first mention of schooners in all the surviving papers and accounts of the Pepperrells.[70] Throughout all the years prior to 1713 only fifteen or sixteen vessels can be definitely identified as belonging to the Pepperrells. Although records of the early years are scanty, the evidence nevertheless suggests continued expansion as the inference to be drawn from the number of vessels that Colonel William owned in the postwar period.

One of the most striking developments of the Pepperrells' activities during the postwar decade was the changing character and growing volume of local business they transacted. Prior to 1713 William Pepperrell's dealings with local people were limited, on the one hand, to "wholesale" transactions with neighboring merchants in which his capacity was that of a purveyor of West India goods and, on the other, to the purchase of fish and lumber from local fishermen and landowners up the Piscataqua River. During those years he must also have carried in his ledgers the accounts of a number of persons—blacksmiths, carpenters, cobblers, or carters—whose services he paid for in rum, molasses, and other imports; but it was not until after 1713 that transactions of this sort became numerous in the Pepperrell records now extant. Then, more and more, the

[70] In this compilation only vessels specifically named in the sources have been included. In addition to those named in the text of this chapter, the vessels included the brigantine *William* and the sloops *Dove, Union,* and *Hope* and *Hopewell.* Col. Pepperrell seems to have had a part interest in another brigantine, the *Sarah,* of which Thomas Kerby of Antigua was the principal owner.

Pepperrells' local business came to resemble that of the country storekeeper and local banker.

Their accounts with other merchants became larger and considerably more animated than William's early dealings with John Usher. In one twelve-month period beginning with April, 1717, Colonel William ordered fifteen shipments of "sundries" from Jonathan Belcher at a cost of over £600 and in addition received from Belcher several sums of cash totaling £360.[71] At this same time a long-outstanding and extremely lethargic account that William had maintained with George Jaffrey of Portsmouth suddenly broke into activity. For nine years, until October, 1718, no commodity exchanges had passed between the two men although several manipulations of credit had been entered in the account. Then William made one small purchase, of brown paper, and in the following summer he bought eleven parcels of salt totaling 101 hogsheads. His transactions for the year ended with the purchase of another fifteen hogsheads of salt. During the same period, from October, 1718, to December, 1719, William made sixteen sales to Jaffrey consisting of seventeen barrels of pitch, eight of tar, about six bushels of corn, four gallons of rum, and seventy-two quintals of refuse fish. The Pepperrells purchased no more salt from Jaffrey for ten years thereafter, but in the meantime they bought wine and "sweet oil," one lot of pipe staves, an anchor, and several parcels of iron from him. Pitch and tar continued to dominate their sales to Jaffrey. The latter's mercantile pattern, however, must have somewhat duplicated that of the Pepperrells, for a year after they purchased a parcel of 3000 pipe staves from Jaffrey, they in turn sold him 2800 of the same commodity, and on one occasion they likewise sold him ten hogsheads of salt. In every other transaction involving salt the Pepperrells appeared as purchasers.[72] Their business with Jaffrey over the entire twenty years of the account was, however, in value, barely one quarter as large as their transactions with Belcher in just one year. When Belcher on April 15, 1718, balanced William Pepperrell's account for the preceding twelve months, he found that the total amount credited against Colonel William came to a few shillings under £1540.[73]

[71] Wm. Pepperrell's account with Jonathan Belcher, 1717–1718, NEHG MSS., Book I.

[72] Wm. Pepperrell, Esq.–George Jaffrey account, 1709–1728, MHS MSS.

[73] Purchases and cash received from Belcher accounted for a little more than £960;

The Belcher account differed also from Jaffrey's in the type of goods exchanged. Shipments received by William Pepperrell from Jonathan Belcher in Boston were remarkable for their variety. The first of Belcher's fifteen consignments in 1717–1718 included four hogsheads of rye, corn, and wheat, five barrels of Connecticut pork, three hogsheads of bread and a barrel of flour to the amount of £50, and files, hinges, padlocks, bar lead, pitch, paint, linsed oil, a three-foot grindstone, several half-hour and minute glasses, ten felt hats, and sixty-five fathoms of four-and-a-half-inch cable to the amount of about £23.[74] A smaller shipment which Belcher sent to Kittery some months later on Samuel Webber's coaster, consisted of three hogsheads of bread, eighty-five yards of baize, and forty-five yards of holland cloth.[75]

The same sort of commodities, even to another grindstone, appeared among shipments the Pepperrells were receiving from other Boston merchants, notably William and Samuel Allen and William Tyler. The last, a brother of Andrew Tyler, who had married one of the Pepperrell daughters, was enjoying a rather active business with the Pepperrells and afterwards followed his brother's example by marrying Colonel William's youngest daughter. In eight months beginning with November, 1723, Tyler sent fourteen consignments to the Pepperrells, but they were small ones, totaling only about £22. In fact, one of Tyler's earlier shipments had exceeded by more than £5 the total value of the fourteen he sent in 1723–1724.[76] By this time the Pepperrells were expanding their own overseas trade and were presumably in a better position to import cloth, cordage, clothing, and ironware direct from England.

Wm. Pepperrell's unpaid balance carried over from the preceding year came to some £526; payments made by Belcher for freight, cartage, and customs duties on imports arriving at Boston for the Pepperrells amounted to about £10; the remainder of the total consisted of several small items omitted from the previous account.

[74] Jonathan Belcher to Wm. Pepperrell, Esq., invoice dated Boston, May 18, 1717, NEHG MSS., Book II. Someone, apparently Wm. Pepperrell, Jr., noted an overcharge of one pound in the cost of a hogshead of wheat. Of the fifteen shipments, only one other, amounting to slightly over £141, exceeded this one.

[75] Jonathan Belcher to Col. Wm. Pepperrell, invoice dated Boston, Nov. 23, 1717, HUHL MSS.

[76] Wm. and Samuel Allen to Wm. Pepperrell, Esq., invoice dated Boston, Aug. 18, 1724, Wildes Papers (in possession of Mr. Joseph W. P. Frost, Kittery Point, Me.); Wm. Tyler's account, 1724, NEHG MSS., Book I; Wm. Tyler to Capt. Wm. Pepperrell, Nov. 21, 1721, *ibid.*

In return for the goods received from Jonathan Belcher the Pepperrells sold him principally fish. Colonel William balanced his purchases in 1717–1718 by sending two lots of merchantable cod, containing 1009½ quintals at twenty-four shillings each, a couple of forty-five-foot oars, and what seems to be a cash payment of a little more than £27. The total amount credited to William's account, namely, £1254 2*s*. and a few pence, was enough to cover all his transactions with Belcher during the twelve months and to reduce his unpaid balance to about £285 13*s*.[77] Large orders, like those received from Jonathan Belcher, required the Pepperrells to purchase sizable quantities of fish from the more well-to-do operators of fishing vessels, among whom were Mark Hunking, John Penhallow, and Captain Richard Wibird of Portsmouth and Abraham Preble of York.[78] Smaller lots, ranging from one to fifty quintals, were obtained from the fishermen of Kittery and the Isles of Shoals who were engaged in small-scale, independent activities. These local fishermen, however, were unwilling, on the one hand, to sell their catch except for ready money and equally unwilling, on the other, to purchase provisions and supplies except on credit.[79] William Pepperrell's troubles with one Francis Clap, during the fall of 1717, were a good illustration of the risks involved in dealing with them. Clap was in debt to the Pepperrells to the extent of some £2 12*s*. and in need of further supplies. He therefore assigned to William his whole share of a catch taken in company with another fisherman which was then in the process of being dried and cured. Having done this, Clap proceeded to make a number of purchases of cloth, hooks and lines, rum, tobacco, bread, pork, and other provisions, and at the end of two months his indebtedness had risen to some £9. The quantity of fish he sent to William proved exceedingly small, probably no more than one quintal, for which he received only twenty-four shillings credit. The balance of the

[77] Wm. Pepperrell also received credit for two hogsheads of merchandise returned to Belcher. See the account cited in note 71 above. Another Boston merchant for whom the Pepperrells purchased fish was Azor Gale, Jr.; Azor Gale, Jr., to Capt. Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, Oct. 29, 1723, NEHG MSS., Book I.

[78] Wm. Pepperrell to [Jonathan Belcher], Jan. 11, 1721, MeHS MSS., Book II; Wm. Pepperrell to [Jonathan Belcher], April 1, 1719, MHS MSS.

[79] Wm. Pepperrell to [Jonathan Belcher], April 1, 1719, MHS MSS.; receipt of George Collins, Isles of Shoals, June 2, 1721, NEHG MSS., Book I; receipt of John Michmore, Isles of Shoals, June 2, 1722, MeHS MSS., Book I.

account Clap refused to pay. After waiting a month for him to settle his indebtedness, William obtained a writ of attachment against him and had him brought before the county court.[80]

Another group of transactions between the Pepperrells and their neighbors had their origin in the currency shortage of the colonies. When John Morgridge, blacksmith, sold Colonel William an anchor or sent him a bill for ironwork on the *Eagle* or when Ebenezer More contracted to build the colonel a new brigantine, they did not expect to receive the entire payment in cash or "ready money." Instead, their services enabled them from time to time to draw upon the Pepperrells for a gallon or two of rum or for their supply of smoking tobacco or whatever else they happened to need.[81] Likewise when Archibald MacPhaedris needed provisions for his vessels, the Pepperrells would extend him credit on the supposition that he could make payment in the products of his Lamprey River ironworks. Thus MacPhaedris would acknowledge the transaction: "Received from Col. William Pepperrell forty-six bushels of corn at five shillings per bushel for which I promise to deliver iron upon demand to the value of said corn at fifty-six shillings per hundred-weight." [82] There is perhaps a rather subtle distinction between this type of transaction and that represented by the "sale" of rum and tobacco to Morgridge and More, since the latter type may to some extent be considered as payments in lieu of cash made by the Pepperrells for services rendered them. They made no distinction in their accounts, however, between the two types of transactions.

Neither did the Pepperrells distinguish between the goods they purchased for their own use and those they bought to resell. In times of scarcity they took the obvious precaution of withholding a larger share of their purchases for themselves. In the spring of 1719 Colonel William ordered twenty barrels of pork from Belcher, but

[80] Assignment dated Aug. 13, 1717, MeHS MSS., Book II; Francis Clap's account, Aug.–Oct., 1717, *ibid.*

[81] John Morgridge's account with Col. Wm. Pepperrell, April–May, 1722; Morgridge's bill, Aug., 1722–Jan., 1724; Morgridge to Col. Pepperrell, Kittery, Nov. 6, 1721; Morgridge to Capt. Wm. Pepperrell, Sept. 28, 1722; Ebenezer More to Capt. Wm. Pepperrell, Kittery, April 23, 1722; same to same, June 9, 1722, all *ibid.*, Book I.

[82] Receipt signed by MacPhaedris, Kittery, June 30, 1721, *ibid.*

the latter, writing that pork was scarcer in Boston than gold or silver, could send only three barrels, and he warned William not to spare a pound "to any but your own fishery." [83]

Whether the purchases were intended for the Pepperrells' own use or whether the "sales" were part of their business expenses, every single transaction was entered, as it took place, in a running daily journal and afterwards copied laboriously into their ledger books. The ledgers have all been lost; but one of the old journals, bound in rough calfskin, its pages yellowed and the ink faded with age, reveals how extensive a trade the Pepperrells had with their neighbors of Piscataqua and Boston. In the twenty-four months from April 1, 1717, through March, 1719, their retail sales totaled about 3400 in number, an average of a little over 140 each month, and amounted in value to approximately £6489 (Massachusetts currency).[84] The business was cyclical, but not definitely seasonal. Peaks came in June, 1717, December, 1717, and May, 1718, and then not until February, 1719. During the next twelve months there was a slight leveling off; the peaks were not so high or the troughs so deep. The total sales for the year came to about £3619. By way of comparison, the retail business of the house of Hancock, Boston's leading merchants a generation later, averaged about 64 sales a month during the 1750's and 1760's and brought in about £8000 annually.[85]

The coming of peace in 1713 had presented the people of New England with a double task of reconstruction. Shattered homes on the frontier had to be rebuilt and abandoned settlements reoccupied, and at the same time New England's seaborne trade had to be put back on its course. Nowhere was the twofold nature of the task more apparent than along the Piscataqua. During the war the townsmen of Deerfield and other Connecticut Valley settlements had suffered more heavily at the hands of the Indians, but

[83] Wm. Pepperrell to [Jonathan Belcher], Aug. 1, 1719, MHS MSS.; Belcher to Col. Pepperrell and Son, Boston, May 25, 1719, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XIX (1865), 143.

[84] In computing the retail sales the author has omitted two large items to the account of Jonathan Belcher, one of £845 on July 23, 1717, and the other of £562 on July 21, 1719, which were transactions of a slightly different sort. Pepperrell Account Book, 1717–1720, J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point.

[85] W. T. Baxter, *op. cit.,* tables 1–2, pp. 158–159.

the state of the sea lanes had been of no direct concern to them. The merchants of Boston, of Salem, and of Newport had found it necessary to adapt their commercial pattern to the disrupted trade routes and closed markets, but their homes and warehouses had been undisturbed by Indian attacks. When peace came, the major seaports and the towns on the western frontier could devote their undivided attention to rebuilding along one or the other of the two lines. On the other hand, while the Pepperrells at Piscataqua took up the task of restoring their West India trade on its former scale and of resuming their old contact with Spain and while they perhaps eyed with interest the French West Indies, where less conservative Boston merchants were pushing a trade, they had to assist, as frontier squires, in re-establishing the defenses along New England's eastern "Marches."

For most of the decade following the war the process of pushing forward the frontier continued at a steady pace. The upper section of Kittery began to fill up and was set off as the separate town of Berwick even before peace was officially proclaimed along the Piscataqua. Falmouth, on the site of present-day Portland, and Scarboro and Saco, all three of them abandoned during the war, were soon afterward resettled. The progress in this respect can be measured by the Pepperrells' increasing retail trade.

In the closing years of the decade the advance of the frontier was checked by another outbreak of border warfare. Berwick, in Maine, and Dover and Durham, in New Hampshire, again winced under the blows of the Indians. Again Colonel Pepperrell's dwelling house became a garrison. Scouting parties, which the Indians usually managed to evade, patrolled the woods back of Berwick, Wells, and York and guarded the inhabitants while they worked in their fields or brought lumber to the mills.[86] The raids and reprisals finally came to an end in 1725, after some eighty Indians and the French priest, Father Ralle, to whom all the border troubles had been attributed, were ambushed and slain on the banks of the Kennebec and after the strength of the New Hampshire Indians had been broken by a series of expeditions under the leadership

[86] Jeremiah Moulton's Journal, York, July 11, 1723. Moulton's journal is an extremely interesting account of "a scout against the Indians" during May and June, 1723, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 42.

of Captain John Lovewell, by whose name the war was later known.

Lovewell's War had a retarding effect on the trade of Piscataqua, although not so marked a one as might be expected. Only two-thirds as many vessels sailed from Boston for Piscataqua in 1723 as in either 1713 or 1714, and the shipments the Pepperrells received from Boston during the fall and winter of 1723–1724 were, it has been noted, rather paltry in size. In the following year, when punitive measures against the Indians were at last undertaken with some vigor, arrivals from Boston rose sharply and passed the figures that had been reached ten years before. Thus the setback was only temporary. Furthermore, it seems to have affected the Boston merchants who dealt with Piscataqua more than it did the Pepperrells and others there. Arrivals at Boston from Piscataqua in 1723 were only slightly less—7 or 8 per cent—than they had been at the beginning of the decade.[87] The Pepperrells and other Piscataqua shipowners were clearly filling the needs of their own trade in 1723, while fewer Boston vessels came to Piscataqua to load. One feature of that year was, it will be recalled, the Pepperrells' renewed activity in the direction of Spain and Portugal. In this connection, the mere possibility of war in Europe seems to have produced a greater effect on their trade than that of the actual struggle with the Indians at home. Neither one was a serious threat, however. For merchants like the Pepperrells, who had built up their trade during a quarter century of conflict, who were accustomed to the annoyances of piracy and the "restraint of Princes," Lovewell's War and the Anglo-Spanish break were everyday hazards of trade.

87 The *Boston News-Letter* reported 92 clearances for Piscataqua in 1713, 97 in 1714, 61 in 1723, and 115 in 1724; entries from Piscataqua were 129 in 1713, 128 in 1714, 118 in 1723, and 197 in 1724. Clearances from Boston to all destinations other than Piscataqua numbered 414 in 1713, 424 in 1714, 431 in 1723, and 621 in 1724; entries from ports other than Piscataqua numbered 365 in 1713, 391 in 1714, 453 in 1723, and 559 in 1724.

⚓ CHAPTER V

Shifting Winds, 1723-1733

⚓ WHILE the frontiersmen of New Hampshire and Maine were fighting their private war against the eastern Indians, the American colonies entered their second decade of general peace. It was to be a decade of tremendous growth, one in which trade expanded more rapidly and merchants prospered more abundantly than ever before. Philadelphia, during these ten years, enjoyed an unprecedented increase in trade which was to continue until the Pennsylvania town became the foremost commercial center of all the English colonies, outranked in England itself only by London and Bristol. New York merchants were expanding their trading area in lower Connecticut and the back country, and a start was made with shipbuilding and iron smelting. On the southern fringe of settlement, Charles Town merchants were filling their strongboxes with the profits of the rapidly growing trade in rice; in Rhode Island, the slave traders and West India merchants of Newport built up a thriving and prosperous commerce with the Caribbean.[1]

Prosperity swelled the population of all the major coastal towns. Boston, numbering 12,000 inhabitants in 1720 and enjoying a good head start over its more youthful rivals, managed to keep the lead, but its pace began to falter. By 1730 Boston's population had climbed to 13,000, an increase of some 8 per cent. In the meantime Philadelphia had grown 15 per cent, Newport 21 per cent, New York 23 per cent, and Charles Town 29 per cent.[2] The New England

1 Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.,* chap. x, surveys the expanding economic scene from 1720 to 1740.

2 Population for the five towns in 1720, 1730, and 1742 are listed in Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.,* p. 303n.

metropolis nevertheless continued to entice many a young man of ambition, perhaps a struggling barrister like William Shirley of London, who arrived almost unnoticed in 1731, or perhaps like young Peter Faneuil of New Rochelle, a kinsman and protégé of one of the town's prominent merchants. Other newcomers settled down in Boston after a successful career elsewhere. Such was Thomas Amory, late of Charles Town and the Azores, who transferred his operations to Boston early in the decade and soon was counted among the ranking merchants of the town. Young apprentices, like Thomas Hancock and Apollos Revere, future father of the Revolutionary courier, finished their terms and set themselves up as shopkeepers in Ann Street or Dock Square. Before the decade was out Hancock, rising from shopkeeper to merchant, was admitted into some of the shipping ventures of the well-to-do William Tyler.[3] Some of the young businessmen of Boston, such as Christopher Kilby, eased their way into the merchant aristocracy by marrying their patron's daughter. Taken into partnership in 1726 by William Clark, Thomas Hutchinson's next-door neighbor and social competitor, Kilby within a year persuaded his partner to accept him as a son-in-law as well. Sometime afterwards he deserted the provincial metropolis for London, and still later, when military success and elevation to a baronetcy brought the younger William Pepperrell into the political and social world of the English capital, Kilby became his intermediary and chief informant in matters of official and quasi-official nature.[4]

During the ten years following 1723, the number of vessels passing in and out of Boston harbor, including repeated voyages, increased 25 per cent. Approximately half of those that cleared and a third of those that entered the port, other than coasting vessels, were bound to and from the West Indies.[5] Trade with the foreign

[3] G. A. Wood, *William Shirley* (New York, 1920), p. 35; Weeden, *op. cit.*, II, 566–569, 608–609; W. T. Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–57.

[4] A biographical sketch of Kilby is in Tuttle, *op. cit.*, pp. 226ff., and some data concerning him is given in W. T. Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–97. Kilby sometimes signed his letters to the younger Wm. Pepperrell "your affectionate kinsman," but it has not been possible to trace the relationship.

[5] Shipping statistics cited above and in the following paragraph are based on arrivals and clearances reported in the *Boston News-Letter.*

sugar islands was large enough to permit the British planters to ascribe to it all their economic ills, and at the close of the decade a sympathetic Parliament gave heed to their complaints. Nevertheless, the prohibitory duties on French sugar, rum, and molasses which became applicable on Christmas Day, 1733, had little immediate effect on the number of sailings to and from the Indies.[6] During the next twelve months, clearances for the Caribbean islands totaled almost exactly the same number as in the preceding year; and arrivals, in 1734, stood at their normal ratio to clearances.[7] The combined clearances and arrivals of the two years 1733–1734 were a shade higher (about 4 per cent) than those of 1723–1724. The marine reports in the *Boston News-Letter* offer no other clues to the extent of trade with the French sugar islands, since most of the vessels in the West India trade were reported merely as to or from the "West Indies" or the "Leeward Islands." The most obvious effect of the Molasses Act of 1733 was the apparent ruin of Boston's trade with the French and Dutch colonies on the South American mainland. Ten years earlier a score of vessels had entered the harbor each year from Surinam and Cayenne. By 1733 the number rose to thirty-two, but in the following year only two were reported in the *News-Letter;* by 1743 they disappeared completely. Sailings to and from England, possibly reflecting the use of larger vessels, were also somewhat less numerous in 1733–1734 than at the start of the decade. But elsewhere there were marked increases.

[6] The effect of the Molasses Act on the West India trade of the colonies can stand further study. Earlier works dealing with colonial trade either base their treatment principally upon the views and arguments advanced by the British sugar planters in their struggle to obtain protection or make use of the customhouse records to show, by means of the duties collected, that the northern colonies did or did not comply with the Act. The most fruitful source will be the private papers and accounts of the merchants; but these are hard to come by. The most recent works, J. B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations: Colonial Years* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), and O. M. Dickerson, *The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1951), are rather barren of material for the period prior to 1750.

[7] In general about 60 per cent of the outgoing vessels, Caribbean-bound, returned direct to Boston from the West Indies. An unusually high number of arrivals in the last six months of 1733, in anticipation, no doubt, of the Molasses Act, somewhat narrowed the gap for that year. The actual percentages were as follows: 61.6 per cent in 1723, 57.3 per cent in 1724, 71 per cent in 1733, 61.3 per cent in 1734, 63.1 per cent in 1743.

Sailings to and from Ireland and Scotland, Spain, Portugal, the wine islands, and Newfoundland were up sharply at the end of the decade. Coastwise activity was almost 50 per cent greater than it had been ten years before.[8] At the decade's end the maritime development of the port had risen to the highest point it would reach prior to the Revolution.[9]

Well over half of the arrivals and clearances reported in the *Boston News-Letter* were those of coasting vessels, and of these one-third, or nearly 20 per cent of all arrivals and departures, were in 1723–1724 bound to and from Piscataqua. At least half a dozen small sloops, making regular fortnightly sailings with fish, lumber, and cordwood for Boston's urban dwellers and with odd lots of freight for the various merchants, were engaged in what might almost be termed a "packet service" between the two ports. Others belonging to Boston merchants went to Piscataqua at occasional intervals for the purpose of taking on cargoes that had been assembled for their owners. Though their activities extended far in many a direction, the Pepperrells did not disdain, now and then, to send a sloop on one of these petty trading trips to Boston, fifty miles down the coast.[10] More frequently, however, their vessels that went from Piscataqua to Boston were those in the West India and overseas trades which called there to complete discharge or to take on additional cargo. When one of them fell victim to a prank of Neptune and was driven on an island scarcely a mile distant from Boston Light, the *News-Letter* reported the unfortunate mishap in the following item:

> Last Thursday night a large brigantine belonging to Col. Pepperrill [sic] of Kittery, having a very valuable cargo of rum, sugar and molasses on board, as she was coming round from Portsmouth to this Port anchored at some distance from the Brewsters; but her cables giving way about two o'clock she drove on the north side of the Middle Brewster and soon after sank. The men's lives are all saved, and some of the cargo, but the loss sustained is very considerable.[11]

[8] This does not take into account the Boston-Piscataqua trade, which had ceased to be reported by the end of the decade.

[9] Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

[10] "Memorandum of a settlement with Kent," Jan., 1727, MeHS MSS., Book I; accounts of the sloop *Union,* Feb., 1727, *ibid.*

[11] *Boston News-Letter,* Thursday, Nov. 1, 1733.

In 1725 the coastal trade of Piscataqua with Boston was valued at £5000 a year, not including, presumably, goods in transit.[12] By this time Portsmouth was a fair-sized town of nearly 2000 inhabitants upon whose property and "trade" were placed for taxing purposes a total valuation of some £1722.[13] Richard Wibird, Esq., with a valuation of slightly over £37, Joshua Peirce, Captain John Rindge, and George Jaffrey, Esq., were the town's highest ratepayers. They and others of the leading citizens owned a total of fifty-two Negro slaves. Across the river, Kittery and Berwick together perhaps equaled Portsmouth's population. Lumbering operations were moving farther inland and "down" along the coast to the eastward, and at the conclusion of Lovewell's War, in 1725, settlers followed in increasing numbers. Falmouth, on the shore of Casco Bay, now consisted of forty-five families, indicating a population of some three hundred persons. Two years later it had become a regular shipping center for the mast trade.[14] Coasting sloops and schooners took wood and lumber to Boston, and when a dozen or more lay in the harbor at one time, the fact was tersely recorded in the journal of the town's first minister, along with such other memorabilia as the state of his strawberry garden and the appearance of Arminianism and the "throat distemper."[15] By 1735 the population of Falmouth had risen to nearly one thousand inhabitants,[16] and the completion there of a "Great Dam" across the Presumpscot River was an undertaking sufficiently impressive to receive notice even in Boston. The dam, reported the *Boston News-Letter,* "containeth 1300 tons of timber." "Sundry sort of mills," the item continued, were to be set up on it.[17] With settlers moving into the eastern towns and into the country back of Berwick, Kittery doubtless gained in wealth and trade if not in numbers. As the largest of the nine towns in Maine, Kittery, in 1734, paid as large a

[12] Saltonstall, *op. cit.,* p. 29.

[13] Inventory of polls and estates in Portsmouth, March 25, 1728, Portsmouth Athenaeum MS. Coll., Portsmouth, N.H.

[14] William Willis, ed., *Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith* (2nd ed., Portland, Me., 1849), p. 60; Albion, *Forests and Sea Power,* p. 270.

[15] Willis, *op. cit.,* Sept. 10, 1727, about 30 vessels in the harbor; Sept. 24, 1732, 12 coasting sloops and a number of schooners in the harbor. See also entries for Oct. 24, 1733, and Aug. 3, 1734.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 82n.

[17] *Boston News-Letter,* Oct. 17, 1734; Willis, *op. cit.,* Nov. 8, 1734.

share of the province tax as that of Falmouth and Berwick combined.[18]

While the frontier was being pushed forward and the coastal towns were filling up and while Thomas Hancock, Peter Faneuil, Thomas Amory, and Christopher Kilby were making places for themselves in the mercantile world of Boston, the Pepperrells were vigorously exploiting their own well-established position.

Their retail sales in the years following 1723 were predominantly of rum, sugar, and molasses. Corn, osnaburgs, and cotton wool were of secondary importance, with nails, cod hooks, and kerseys and other textiles in occasional demand. Every second retail order that they filled included some quantity of rum, but no more than a fourth of the orders called for as much as a hogshead. They received several good-sized orders from one William Spender, a cooper of Berwick, which probably represented a year's supply and of which the largest included one hogshead of rum, a barrel of sugar, five hundred nails, four pounds of lead, half a quintal of cod, and a bundle or two of cloth.[19] For the most part, however, the local citizenry were content with smaller purchases—two to four gallons of rum, three to six pounds of sugar, and a bushel or so of corn at a time.[20]

For some fifteen years prices do not seem to have risen in proportion to the increasing volume and depreciating sterling value of the provincial currency.[21] In 1718 George Jaffrey purchased four gallons of rum from Colonel Pepperrell at a cost of eight shillings per

[18] Of the Massachusetts province tax of £1000, Maine's proportion was £46 7*s.* 2*d.*, of which Kittery paid £11 5*s.* 8*d.*, York £8 14*s.* 8*d.*, Berwick £5 17*s.* 8*d.*, and Falmouth £5 12*s.* 9*d.* Maine Historical Society *Collections*, Ser. 1, IV, 197.

[19] Wm. Spencer to Col. Pepperrell, Berwick, March 16, 1734, HUHL MSS.

[20] A few typical retail orders were: James [Allard?] to Col. Pepperrell, [Isles of Shoals], Oct. 14, 1736 (2 yds. "fine cloth," 6 lbs. shot, 2 lbs. powder, 2 gals. rum), *ibid.;* Elihu Gunnison to Hon. Wm. Pepperrell, Esq., June 24, 1743 (9 bu. "good corn"), *ibid.;* John Down to Capt. Pepperrell, March 8, 1728 (4 gals. rum, 6½ lbs. sugar), NEHG MSS., Book I; Nathan Raynes to Col. Pepperrell, May 18, 1732 (2 bu. corn, 5 lbs. tobacco), *ibid.*

[21] Sterling exchange rose about 85 per cent from 1722 to 1737 when, in the latter year, Massachusetts first issued its "New Tenor" bills, W. T. Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Much the same thing happened during the Revolution, but at that time price and wage controls, although not an unqualified success, were a complicating factor. See R. B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946), chap. ii, and L. N. Newcomer, *The Embattled Farmers* (New York, 1952), chap. viii.

gallon. Eight years later another Portsmouth merchant, Henry Reese, bought some three hundred gallons of rum from the Pepperrells at six shillings.[22] In 1732 the Pepperrells made one sale at six shillings per gallon, another, of "choice Barbados," at seven shillings, and a third at ten shillings; and in 1736 they sold Barbados rum at nine shillings per gallon.[23] Elsewhere in New England the price of rum followed a similar trend, although apparently on a somewhat lower level. During the 1720's the domestic product was priced in eastern Massachusetts at four to five shillings per gallon and rose to six shillings sixpence in 1735. New England rum was also quoted at four shillings ten pence in that year, and Barbados rum at five shillings nine pence.[24] The price of other commodities took the same course as that of rum. Jaffrey bought corn from the Pepperrells for six shillings sixpence per bushel in 1719, and pork for £5 per barrel in 1722 and 1725.[25] By 1732, however, corn had risen to seven shillings sixpence per bushel, and pork to £7 per barrel. Two years later customers of the Pepperrells at Saco, some thirty miles east of Kittery, were paying eight shillings for corn and £8 10*s.* for a barrel of pork.[26] In 1737 the provincial authorities began to replace the depreciating currency with "New Tenor" bills redeemable in specie, and for fifteen years afterward the currency situation, upset by the emission of more than £1,700,000 in New Tenor bills, by large issues of private "Land Bank" and "Silver Bank" notes, and by heavy wartime expenditures, remained unsettled and insecure. Prices, apparently rising precipitously, were thrown into a like state of utter confusion.

The business world of the Pepperrells recognized no great dis-

[22] Wm. Pepperrell, Esq.–George Jaffrey account, 1709–1728, MHS MSS.; Henry Reese's accounts, 1726–1728, MeHS MSS., Book I.

[23] Receipt signed by Wm. Murch on an order of Jonathan Philbrook, Bedford, Aug. 2, 1732, NEHG MSS., Book I; receipt signed by Richard Hearl, Kittery, April 10, 1732, *ibid.;* unsigned memorandum on an order of John Neal and Wm. Gowen, Nov. 28, 1732, *ibid.;* Moses Ingraham to Wm. Pepperrell, Esq., Kittery, March 17, 1726, *ibid.*

[24] Channing, *op. cit.,* II, 519–520; Weeden, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, appendix A.

[25] See George Jaffrey's account, cited in note 22. The Pepperrells also purchased pork at £5 from a Portsmouth merchant in 1728. Receipt of Henry Reese, Portsmouth, May 3, 1728, MeHS MSS., Book I; Weeden, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, appendix A, lists £5 and £5 10*s.* for pork in 1727.

[26] Samuel Waldo's account, April 24, 1733, HUHL MSS.; Wm. Dearing's account, May, 1734, *ibid.* See also John Neal and Wm. Gowen's order of Nov. 28, 1732, cited in note 23 above.

tinction between goods and money. Both were looked upon as commodities; either passed for currency. Similarly the colonial merchant was generally called upon to perform services which in later years were the peculiar function of the banker. The Pepperrells advanced money, as well as goods, to their customers. They transferred credit upon demand. They lent money at interest. They provided American travelers in England with sterling exchange, and they advanced credit to visiting English shipmasters.

Customers of the Pepperrells used their accounts much as modern checking accounts. When Bray Dearing or Elihu Gunnison, a grandson of the former Boston innkeeper, needed cash, they would write an order on the Pepperrells for the amount they wanted with instructions that it be charged to their accounts.[27] In most cases the orders were made payable to a third party and were not assignable, but occasionally they took the form of a true negotiable instrument and ran as follows: "Sir, Please to pay to Mr. Joseph Newmarch or order Six Pounds Seven Shillings and place the same to the account of your Humble Servant——." [28] These orders were debited against the drawer's own account and bore no interest, for they stood in the same relation to the conduct of the business as the more numerous but identical orders for a gallon of rum or a bushel of corn.

In addition to providing facilities for the circulation of credit instruments, the Pepperrells served as moneylenders to the community. They sometimes required an extremely high rate of interest of their neighbors, for on one loan they received a total of £285 8*s*. 10*d*. on an initial obligation of £180, and after sixteen payments spread over fifteen or sixteen years, there still remained due £100 19*s*.[29] Toward the close of his life the second William Pepperrell drew up a list of sixty-nine unpaid interest-bearing loans, totaling slightly more than £1850, of which some had been outstanding for more than fifteen years. The list apparently consisted only of loans outstanding at the Isles of Shoals.[30] Had it been a complete

[27] Receipt signed by Elihu Gunnison, Jr., Oct. 2, 1727, NEHG MSS., Book I; Bray Dearing to Wm. Pepperrell, March 20, 1728, *ibid.;* Elihu Gunnison to Wm. Pepperrell, March 26, 1728, *ibid.*

[28] George Welch to Col. Pepperrell, Esq., New Castle, Jan. 9, 1738, *ibid.*

[29] A list of payments on a loan, 1733–1748, *ibid.*

[30] An undated memorandum headed "Notes and Bonds," HUHL MSS. Of the total amount, £1046 18*s*. 3*d*. and probably an additional £380 was in Old Tenor currency;

statement, it would have included many of his neighbors and kinsmen on the mainland—Portsmouth merchants, provincial councilors, and ministers of the gospel. One of the last, the Rev. John Rogers, minister of the upper parish of Kittery, when importuned for the payment of his debt, painted a dismal picture of the hardships of shepherding a flock on the edge of the wilderness. He had received of his yearly salary only a little more than half the sum that William Pepperrell wrote for. "My family suffers many things . . ." continued the hard-pressed parson. "I have been necessitated to run into debt for the very provisions I eat . . . and 'tis my daily burden and grief that I cannot answer my great obligations to others as well as yourself." He assured William, however, that he would pay the interest and reduce the principal just as soon as he could. "If I knew where I could hire the money," he wrote, "I would not [shrink?] at an extraordinary interest, but such is the scarcity of money that I know not which way to turn." If it came to the worst, he would as a last recourse "do what I have often purposed, sell my library and make the best of what I have." [31]

For some four or five years after 1723 the Pepperrells continued to develop their sea-borne trade along lines previously charted. Then, toward the end of the 1720's, they shifted their course. They curtailed their trade with North Carolina, with Newfoundland, and with Spain and turned in new directions. Their West Indies trade they extended to the French islands; they sampled the Irish market; and they experimented with a Madeira–West Indies triangle.

The seizure of the *Hannah and Sarah* in North Carolina during the season of 1721–1722 did not immediately check the Pepperrells' trading activities in that direction. The very next winter, it has already been noted, they sent the sloop *Mary,* under Captain Enoch Mittlebury, to Albermarle Sound with a miscellaneous cargo that was to be exchanged for goods suitable for the Antigua market. The following season, 1723–1724, they had two, and possibly three, vessels at North Carolina—the *Mary,* and apparently another sloop,

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one loan of £3 1*s.* was in sterling; and the remainder was in "lawful" currency. Two of the seventy persons named in the list were designated as of the "Shoals"; twenty-one signed a petition in 1766 as "inhabitants of the Isles of Shoals," and of the rest, thirty-one had surnames identical with the foregoing residents of the islands.

[31] Rev. John Rogers to Wm. Pepperrell, Kittery, Jan. 17, 1728, MHS MSS.

and the schooner *Bachelor* under Captain John Vennard.[32] Boston merchants were busily pushing the trade. In the last three months of 1723 twenty-five vessels cleared for North Carolina from the metropolis on Massachusetts Bay, and, with the English import bounties about to expire, clearances continued to run heavy throughout the next year.[33] A letter from a North Carolina correspondent explaining that "our Indians have left off drinking rum, so that [I] cannot dispose of the two tierces sent" was considered so ominous by the Boston merchant who received it that he turned it over to the publisher of the *News-Letter* as a matter of public interest.[34] But to judge from the number of Boston clearances ten years later, the Carolina Indians did not long hold to their good resolves.

By 1727, however, the Pepperrells were apparently becoming discouraged. Not only had they failed to obtain any recovery on the *Hannah and Sarah;* they were disappointed as well with the state of their trade. Between 1718 and 1725 pitch, the principal return from North Carolina, had brought from forty-five to fifty shillings per barrel at Piscataqua; but in 1727 the highest retail price was only twenty shillings. The decline was probably the result of English naval stores policy, for the import bounty of £4 per ton had been permitted to expire in 1725; and when re-enacted in 1729 it was reduced to £2 4*s.* on tar and £1 on pitch.[35] "A miserable market," old Colonel William called it, at the end of 1727. He referred to the low price when he wrote to Colonel Moseley of Chowan in December and to the fact also that his vessels spent too much time at Carolina. "When we send to your country," he pointed out, "our masters make a long tarry to purchase their cargo. Now if yourself," he suggested to Moseley, "or some good man that you could recommend me to (if you decline it) would take the trouble of consignment of goods, we would have some in your hands

[32] Receipts for naval officer and collector's fees at Port Roanoke, NEHG MSS., Book I.

[33] Marine reports in the *Boston News-Letter.*

[34] *Boston News-Letter,* Jan. 30, 1724.

[35] Albion, *Forests and Sea Power,* pp. 250–252; Gipson, *op. cit.,* II, 154–155. The 1718–1725 price range is based on the Pepperrell-Jaffrey account cited in note 22, on the Pepperrell Account Book, 1717–1720, and on scattered sales receipts; the price in 1727 was mentioned in Pepperrell's letter to Moseley cited in the note following.

in order to purchase a cargo against our vessels should come." [36] To illustrate his point Colonel William might have called Moseley's attention to Captain Mittlebury's time-consuming voyage in the *Mary,* in the winter of 1722–1723. Sailing from Kittery on December 7, or a few days after, the *Mary* presumably reached North Carolina by early January, and there she stayed for at least three months, until mid-April. By way of contrast, however, she arrived at Antigua from Carolina on June 13, discharged her cargo, took on what goods Thomas Kerby had assembled, and on July 1 Captain Mittlebury wrote to Colonel Pepperrell that he would load some freight for Piscataqua and sail within a week—less than a month after his arrival.[37] The difference could scarcely have gone unnoticed. So long as everything else went well, William no doubt took a tolerant view of the long layovers at Carolina, but with the market for naval stores deteriorating, they became an important consideration. Nevertheless, he would have sent a vessel to North Carolina in the winter of 1727–1728, he told Moseley, had he not met with the loss of one at sea.[38] This was certainly an important factor, but it could not have been the only one that influenced his decision. To have emphasized the others, however, might well have impaired his relations with Moseley for the future.

In the meantime Moseley had also been making shipments to the Pepperrells on the account of one Nathaniel Duckinfield of London. Except when Moseley sent these shipments on the Pepperrells' own vessels, they had no interest in them other than as agents acting on commission. Their part was to sell the goods and remit the proceeds to Duckinfield in the form of sterling bills.[39] But falling prices and mounting exchange rates were diminishing their reward and increasing their work. The market for naval stores in 1729 was the poorest that he had ever known, wrote either Colonel William or the younger Pepperrell; and the rate of exchange—235 per cent for a "dubious" looking bill the Pepperrells refused to

[36] Wm. Pepperrell to Col. Edward Moseley, Dec. 19, 1727, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[37] Capt. Enoch Mittlebury to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, July 1, 1723, *ibid.,* Book I; bill of lading, Dec. 7, 1722, *ibid.,* Book II; Edward Moseley to Wm. Pepperrell, Chowan, April 13, 1723, *ibid.*

[38] Wm. Pepperrell to Col. Edward Moseley, Dec. 19, 1727, *ibid.,* Book II.

[39] Wm. Pepperrell's letter to Edward Moseley, Dec. 19, 1727, cited in notes 36 and 38 above.

buy—was higher than they had ever paid. A year and a half later, in December, 1730, they had to write to Duckinfield and admit that contrary to their expectations sterling bills had remained at an "extravagant" level, and as a result they had been unable to make any remittances to him that year.[40] By this time the Pepperrells apparently had not had a vessel at North Carolina since the winter of 1725–1726. There were, however, younger, more recently embarked merchants both in Boston and Portsmouth who could not afford to reef down and stand on the inshore tack whenever the winds of trade shifted. John Moffatt, who had lately given up the command of an English mast ship to marry Catherine Cutt of Kittery, had a sloop trading between Portsmouth and North Carolina; Thomas Amory of Boston was still very active in the trade.[41] Duckinfield was, in fact, doing business with Amory as well as the Pepperrells, but found him quite remiss in forwarding a statement of the account and had to ask the Pepperrells to obtain one from him. A letter from them to Amory received no answer. Finally, one of the Pepperrells, no doubt the younger William, on one of his trips to Boston called at Amory's in person and managed to get a statement. This gave the Pepperrells a good opportunity to make the tacit suggestion to Duckinfield that Moseley should, whenever Piscataqua-bound shipping was not available, consign future shipments to them by way of Boston. "We live about sixty miles from Boston," they wrote, "and are so well known there that whatever comes to us will be taken good care of." [42] The following spring Moseley's shipments arrived at Piscataqua on board John Moffatt's sloop. The Pepperrells were by then apparently finding it preferable to pay Moffatt ten shillings per barrel freight rather than load tar and pitch in their own vessels.[43]

They were then engaged in the painful task of collecting the scattered debts owed to them in Carolina. Moseley, to whom they

[40] Wm. Pepperrell to Nathaniel Duckinfield, Esq., July 1, 1729, MeHS MSS., Book II; Pepperrell to Duckinfield, Dec. 19, 1730, *ibid.*

[41] Moffatt prospered and in the early 1760's built a fine house that still stands in Portsmouth's Market Street. See Saltonstall, *op. cit.,* pp. 30–31; for photographs of the house and splendid gardens, see Howells, *op. cit.,* plates 33–40.

[42] Wm. Pepperrell to Nathaniel Duckinfield, July 1, 1729, cited in note 40 above.

[43] Wm. Pepperrell, Esq., his account with John Moffatt, June 17, 1730, NEHG MSS., Book I.

looked for information and assistance, was not very encouraging. One of the Pepperrells' former customers, he wrote, had cast off all his financial obligations by removing to South Carolina. There he died, leaving nothing with which to settle any of his debts. Another had the means, but lacked the will to pay; and the rest of them, Moseley asserted, were not worth "a barrel of pork." [44] Most of the debts were probably in the form of protested bills, for the Pepperrells' trade with North Carolina had been almost entirely barter; and their shipmasters held customers quite strictly to the amount of goods or bills offered in exchange. One of the vessels trading at Carolina in the early spring of 1724 had disposed of cargo to the approximate amount of £173 8*s.* in exchange for goods and bills to the amount of some £173 16*s.* Of the latter, about £20 consisted of "country bills," and another £8 1*s.* consisted of a note which Moseley had given in exchange for West India goods worth £8 3*s.* 2*d.* [45]

While the Pepperrells from 1726 to 1730 were curtailing their North Carolina trade, that of Thomas Amory and other Boston merchants appears to have been increasing. By 1733–1734 certainly, Boston's trade with the southern colony was considerably greater than it had been at the start of the decade; for in those two years there were reported in the *News-Letter* somewhat over 50 per cent more arrivals from North Carolina, and more than twice as many sailings, as in 1723–1724. But for the Pepperrells of Piscataqua the Carolina trade had ceased to be of any great importance.

In the meantime their trade with New England's northern outposts—Canso and Newfoundland—was following much the same course. During most of the 1720's conditions favored the New England traders. The settlement at Canso, whose exposed position and rather indefinite status had laid it open to several destructive Indian raids, was at last fortified and firmly attached to British territory.[46] At the same time, after nine lean years following the long, severe winter of 1713–1714, the Newfoundland fishery began to improve. Catches continued to run large, and during the season of 1728 they

[44] Edward Moseley to Wm. Pepperrell, Chowan, April 2, 1730, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[45] North Carolina Account Book, Jan.–March, 1724, J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point.

[46] J. S. McLennan, *Louisbourg from Its Foundation to Its Fall, 1713–1758* (London, 1918), pp. 62–70.

reached their highest level in fifteen years. That transient byeboatkeepers and their servants, fishing vessels, and sackships were coming to Newfoundland in larger numbers during the early 1720's is a reasonable inference, especially since those in England interested in the fishery were, until the next decade, apparently successful in keeping the permanent population of Newfoundland at a fairly stable level.[47] By 1725 colonial merchants less fortunate than the Pepperrells in maintaining a connection with the masters of English sackships were conducting an extensive trade at Newfoundland through resident factors.[48]

The Pepperrells' Newfoundland trade had always been a direct, two-way trade in which their sloops and occasional brigantines returned to Piscataqua laden with passengers and the mixed cargoes acquired in exchange for lumber, provisions, and West India goods. Sometimes a part of the return cargo consisted of fish purchased at Newfoundland or taken by the crew while the vessel lay becalmed, and occasionally the Pepperrells sent one of their own vessels on a fishing voyage to the banks.[49] By the end of the first decade after Queen Anne's War, they had established a fishing and trading headquarters at St. Peters on Cape Breton Island. In the early years of the second decade, the Pepperrells continued this shuttle trade, and at the same time their growing overseas trade was giving a new importance to their dealings at St. Peters and Newfoundland.

In 1723, it will be recalled, the brigantine *Industry* while en route to Lisbon missed a rendezvous with a fishing vessel of the Pepperrells at St. Peters and as a result was unable to load any fish. A year or so later the same vessel, after taking on a part cargo at Marblehead, called at St. Peters with much better success and then headed across the Atlantic for Lisbon and the Mediterranean. When he sailed from St. Peters, Captain Dearing, a grandson of Colonel William's old friend and neighbor, Roger Dearing, left behind one of the brigantine's boats with the apparent intention that it be used

47 Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland,* p. 251; Innis, *op. cit.,* pp. 147–150.

48 Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland,* p. 559.

49 Sloop *Olive*'s account current [undated], HUHL MSS.; Wm. Pepperrell to John More, June 21, 1720, a letter of instruction covering the voyage of the sloop *Dove,* "bound somewhere on the coast of Cape Sable a-fishing," MeHS MSS., Book II.

in gathering a fare of fish for his next voyage. The boat was "improved a-fishing" by Captain Thomas Richards, one of the leading spirits of the settlement at Canso; but there was to be no next voyage for the master of the *Industry*. Captain Dearing died and was buried in Lisbon, and his mate Thomas Clear took command of the brigantine. The following summer the Pepperrells and Widow Dearing instructed Richards to sell the boat that had been left with him and to send the proceeds and their share of what he had taken with it to Kittery in the form of refuse fish.[50]

Another brigantine, the *William,* figured in a variant of this triangular trade. Instead of calling at St. Peters or Canso for a lading of fish taken by boats or fishing vessels in which the Pepperrells had an interest, the *William* purchased a cargo at Newfoundland with West India goods. She sailed from Kittery with about eleven hogsheads of rum and eight of molasses, seven barrels of pork, and 540 pounds of tobacco, which Captain George King, the master, sold at Newfoundland for a shade under £250, a rather moderate sum; but fortunately the price of fish was correspondingly low. A total of 490 quintals of refuse fish and 100 quintals of merchantable fish cost Captain King £225 14*s.* 6*d.*, including what seems to be a commission of £2 4*s.*[51] Then, after a few stores and supplies were taken on, the *William* set sail for Ireland, and from there the brigantine went to Antigua, and finally back to Kittery.

In addition to trading at Newfoundland on their own account, the Pepperrells were now making shipments consigned to acquaintances among the English shipmasters and byeboatkeepers there, according to instructions received from them. The Pepperrells made a profit by filling the orders from their own stock and by

[50] Capt. John Dearing's account, 1725, NEHG MSS., Book I; Silas Hooper to Wm. Pepperrell, London, June 5, 1725, MeHS MSS., Book II; Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Thomas Richards, Aug. 8, 1726, MHS MSS.

[51] The merchantable fish cost 12*s.* 6*d.* per quintal; 288 quintals of the refuse cost 6*s.* 3*d.* each, and 202 quintals cost 7*s.* 2*d.* per quintal. The amount received from the sale of the *William*'s cargo (£249 13*s.* 10*d.*), plus the freight earned on six tons (£24), and eight quintals of fish (£2 10*s.*) left by a seaman who had the misfortune to meet with a press gang were debited against the vessel by Capt. King. As *"contra* credit," he entered the price of the fish, stores, and supplies he purchased, the wages advanced to the crew, and also the eight quintals of fish of the man who was impressed. The total, £276 4*s.* 10*d.*, was exactly one shilling less than the amount debited against the vessel. "Sundry papers relating to George King's voyage in the *William,*" [undated], NEHG MSS., Book I.

shipping them on their own vessels, but such transactions, like their business with Duckinfield, competed to a large extent with their own ventures. In dealings of this sort, however, their position was very little different from that of Thomas Kerby with respect to their Antigua trade or from the one they had suggested to Moseley in North Carolina. The most valuable feature was the reciprocity upon which the relationship was based.

Early in the summer of 1725 the Pepperrells received two consignments of broadcloth and other English goods from Newfoundland, one from Captain John Stafford, an old Devonshire friend of theirs and long interested in the Newfoundland fishery, and the other from a Captain Withal, who seems to have been a byeboat-keeper in Newfoundland. From both Stafford and Withal they received instructions to sell the goods and return the proceeds in rum and molasses. In mid-August the Pepperrells loaded a sloop for Newfoundland, but nothing more than a tierce of Barbados rum for each of the two men was included in the cargo. The two shipments had not yet been sold, the Pepperrells wrote to Withal, and although it had been their intention to send as much rum and molasses as they estimated the sale of the English goods would bring, molasses, they continued, was unobtainable and rum so scarce that only the two tierces could be sent. In the meantime Withal had written to the Pepperrells requesting them to include a parcel of staves in their return shipment, but his letter arrived after the sloop was loaded, and the best that they could do, they replied, was to direct the master to give Withal "the offer" of some staves that had already been taken on board. "What service you show Captain Mittlebury in getting passengers," continued young William or his father, "or any other service you do him I shall esteem it as a favor." [52]

Soon afterward the Pepperrells began to curtail their trade with Newfoundland and St. Peters. They withdrew also from direct participation in the fisheries until, in 1731, they did not have a single share in any fishing vessel.[53]

[52] The Pepperrells assured Withal that the price which they charged him for the rum, five shillings per gallon, although very high, was the lowest it was selling for (Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Richard Withal, Aug. 20, 1725, MHS MSS).

[53] Wm. Pepperrell to Charles Apthorp, Aug. 20, 1731, HUHL MSS.

There were several contributing circumstances. With the decline of their North Carolina trade, there began to ebb, first, a major source of the provisions, naval stores, and tobacco which their vessels carried to Newfoundland and, second, a good market for the ironware and English goods obtained in return. Furthermore, the Pepperrells' business had by this time expanded to unwieldy proportions. In reply to an inquiry of Captain Withal's regarding the possibility of having a brigantine built, they informed him, in their letter of August, 1725, that they had more vessels than they could "manage to advantage," and they suggested that he buy one of their surplus vessels instead of having one built. They offered him his choice of three small sloops, any one of which, they said, would make a good brigantine; or if Withal wanted a larger vessel, they had a 110-ton brigantine, about two years old, ready for immediate sale.[54] At least one of the sloops was then being used in their Newfoundland trade. Moreover, just at this time the home government began to put forth a special effort to discourage the permanent settlement of Newfoundland and to constrict its trade with the New England colonies.[55] The result was a sharp decrease in the number of sackships sailing from England and a corresponding reduction in the volume of goods available at Newfoundland for re-export to New England. In 1727 the fishing season was an excellent one, but there were so few sackships at Newfoundland that byeboatkeepers and fishing vessels had to market the catch themselves. Although New England traders were thus hampered by the dearth of returns, the situation was not without its saving features for those who, like the Pepperrells, had shipping to dispose of. One of the Pepperrells' most experienced captains, Edward Clampitt, who even had a whiff of salt in his name, had no sooner returned as a passenger from England after selling his vessel in London than he was immediately sent off to Newfoundland in charge of one that was to be sold there. The sloop *Mary,* John Sanders master, may also have been sold in Newfoundland in 1727; for the naval office records of Piscataqua list its departure in August with a typical cargo of lumber, fish, tar and pitch, and sugar, and in the following December, Captain

[54] Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Withal, cited in note 52 above.
[55] Gipson, *op. cit.,* III, 260–262; Innis, *op. cit.,* p. 157.

Sanders sailed from Piscataqua for Philadelphia in another, newly built Pepperrell sloop.[56] Two years later, in 1729, conditions were much the same, for in that year Thomas Hancock, only recently launched in the trade, found that in Newfoundland sterling exchange and New England-bound shipping were scarce.[57]

A factor of major importance, and probably one of more direct bearing on the Pepperrells' Newfoundland trade than the exercise or lack of royal authority in Newfoundland itself, was the disruption of their trade with Spain and Portugal as a result of another crisis in Anglo-Spanish relations. It will be recalled that by 1723 the Pepperrells had developed a thriving trade with the two Iberian countries. All went well until the spring of 1726. Then, with the arrival of one of their vessels at Cadiz, the Pepperrells learned that English merchants and American shipmasters there were "hourly expecting a war." They had instructed their master, Captain Clear, to report to Archibald MacPhaedris, the Portsmouth merchant-shipowner who had found the earlier rupture between England and Spain, in 1719, no bar to profitable trade and who was again in Cadiz taking advantage of the prospective enemy's mounting demand for shipping and supplies. In one of his letters MacPhaedris described at some length the uncertain situation, the troubles that befell Captain Clear, and, not least, his own efforts on behalf of the Pepperrells' vessel. Captain Clear, he said, had met with "terrible weather" which had sprung the vessel's mast, swept away her flying jib, and washed overboard her longboat and part of her upper works. Then, while the vessel lay at anchor in the roadstead, her cable had parted during a strong gale. She was saved from being driven against the rocks, MacPhaedris pointed out, only by the fact that he immediately sent off to the vessel a new cable and anchor, at a cost of forty pieces of eight. With the help of MacPhaedris, Captain Clear had been able to sell his fish, although it was "much damnefyed," and a part of his lumber cargo; and if the captain's orders had permitted, MacPhaedris claimed, he could have sold the vessel for 1000 pieces of eight. This, he continued, would have been

[56] Roger Prowse to Wm. Pepperrell, Exeter, Jan. 8, 1728, J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point; Naval Office Records, Port New Hampshire Exports, 1727, University of California transcripts.

[57] W. T. Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–52.

"double the value of her." There was some delay in disposing of the remainder of Captain Clear's lumber. Only the Spanish government was buying planks; so MacPhaedris, fearing they "might never see the money if we sell them to the King," tried to "truck them for junk or oakum." Finally, in view of the impending war he decided to hurry the vessel away whether or not all the cargo was sold.[58] It was the last vessel the Pepperrells sent to Spain for more than three years.

The unsettled state of affairs affected the Portuguese trade as well. After Captain Clear returned to Kittery, the Pepperrells apparently determined not to send a vessel to Lisbon the following winter; for they instructed their Lisbon agents, the firm of Gibbs, Lewen, and Potter, to sell what goods remained from their last Lisbon cargo and send the proceeds to the firm's London partner, Charles Lewen, for crediting to the Pepperrells' account. They were then fitting out a vessel under Captain Clampitt for a voyage to London. Probably it was the *Prosperous,* which had been in service for ten years or more and of which Captain Clampitt, with the exception of one voyage in 1720, had served as master ever since 1719. Now the Pepperrells proposed to sell her in England and to have another vessel built for Captain Clampitt to use in the "fish trade." Some correspondence along these lines had already passed between Gibbs, Lewen, and Potter, who had shown an interest in taking a quarter share in a small vessel, and the Pepperrells, who were reluctant to assume the major responsibility and wanted the Lisbon firm to take a half share. However, by the beginning of 1727 Messrs. Gibbs, Lewen, and Potter had begun to cool towards the idea. After hearing from his partners in Lisbon and after talking with Captain Clampitt in London, Lewen informed Colonel Pepperrell early in February that although he was willing to take a quarter share, "be the consequences what will," his partners would not go along, "seeing that we are under apprehension of a speedy war and wages running so very high no shipping will answer." He therefore suggested that under the circumstances Colonel William proceed no further in the matter.[59]

[58] Archibald MacPhaedris to Messrs. Pepperrell, Cadiz, April 11, 1726, MHS MSS.

[59] Charles Lewen to Col. Wm. Pepperrell, London, Feb. 11, 1727, Wildes Papers (in possession of J. W. P. Frost, Kittery Point).

Within a week Lewen changed his mind. Fearing, he said, that Captain Clampitt's departure for New England meant that the Pepperrells had already contracted for the building of a new vessel, he decided "to go through [with] the affair as designed." He would, he assured them, take a quarter share himself, and when his partners learned that he had done so they would, Lewen was convinced, join in likewise. "I have resolved in myself that she be a Snow," he continued, "and her name I desire may be *Mary*." [60]

While waiting for Ebenezer More or one of the other Piscataqua shipwrights to complete the *Mary,* the Pepperrells sent Captain Clampitt to Newfoundland with the vessel that he sold there, and in December, 1727, they dispatched the brigantine *William* to Madeira with a cargo of fish and lumber. The next summer, in July, 1728, the *Mary* made her first sailing to Lisbon, with a cargo of merchantable cod. She returned in the spring of 1729 by way of Salt Tortuga, and the Pepperrells sent her back to Lisbon with another cargo later in the same year.[61]

As long as peace hung in the balance, the Pepperrells limited their participation in the Lisbon trade to a half interest in the *Mary* and her cargo, and they were content to let Messrs. Gibbs, Lewen, and Potter manage the vessel. Despite some minor lack of agreement respecting certain items charged against their account and some delay on the part of the Lisbon people in forwarding their share of the profits to London, the Pepperrells probably found the arrangement a satisfactory one. It added to their account in London with Charles Lewen, from whom they ordered small, but varied, assortments of import goods.[62] It probably also provided them with bills of exchange in Kittery, for Lewen seems to have reluctantly

60 Charles Lewen to Messrs. Pepperrell, London, Feb. 17, 1727, *ibid.* There was very little difference between a "snow" and a brig. Both were two-masted vessels, square-rigged on the foremast, carrying a gaff-rigged spanker. A snow, however, carried her spanker on what was then called a "trysail mast," a spar resting on the deck a foot or so aft of the mainmast and secured aloft to the mainmast trestletrees. This permitted a snow to set a square mainsail, which could not be done on a brig without considerable difficulty.

61 Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Edward Clampitt, July 25, 1728, MeHS MSS., Book II; Naval Office Records, Port New Hampshire Exports, 1727, University of California transcripts.

62 Wm. Pepperrell to Charles Lewen, Dec. 9, 1729, MeHS MSS., Book II; Pepperrell to Lewen, Dec. 29, 1729, *ibid.*

expected the Pepperrells to draw on him in payment for the *Mary*'s cargoes. However, both Lewen and the Pepperrells apparently considered the arrangement as nothing more than a temporary expedient. While Lewen was still weighing the project in his mind, he had written to Colonel Pepperrell, in his letter of February 11, 1727:

> When please God these troubles are blown over I propose with some friends to be concerned in a ship or two in the trade, but must look out to find some goods from hence that will answer better than to be drawn on from you, for no trade will answer when goods can't be sent to purchase goods. I don't know how that the Gentleman may find his account that orders bills to be drawn for his fish. I have known losses in trade so carried on but very seldom never [sic] any profits. At present all trade here is stagnated. I hope it is better with you.[63]

As soon as it appeared that war with Spain had been averted, the joint undertaking therefore came to an end after the *Mary* had made only two or three voyages. Having received no instructions from Lewen "to make any engagements" for another cargo, the younger William or his father wrote to Lewen in December, 1729, that they supposed he had no thought of sending the *Mary* to load fish at Kittery the next spring; and so, they continued, "we are content, if you can meet with an agreeable price, that you sell her." [64]

In the meantime the Pepperrells had decided that it was safe to resume trade with Spain. While the envoys of the two countries were still discussing the terms of a peace pact in Seville, a vessel of the Pepperrells arrived at Cadiz, bringing with her, incidentally, a cable belonging to the *Mary* which Captain Clampitt had left behind when he last sailed from Kittery. Nothing more untoward than a poor market was encountered. There were other occasional squalls —delayed remittances and the like—but in general fair winds favored the Pepperrells' overseas trade for the next five years.[65]

In the Caribbean the Pepperrells' trade was not materially affected by the Anglo-Spanish crisis. Actually the severance of rela-

[63] Chas. Lewen to Col. Wm. Pepperrell, London, Feb. 11, 1727, cited in note 59 above.

[64] See Pepperrell's letter of Dec. 9, 1729, cited in note 62 above.

[65] Silas Hooper to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, London, Feb. 7, 1730, MeHS MSS., Book I; Joseph Paice, Jr., and Co. to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, London, May 3, 1734, *ibid.;* Wm. Pepperrell to Wm. Fassitt, Nov. 30, 1730, NEHG MSS., Book I.

tions between the two countries merely projected into European waters the situation which had prevailed since 1713 in the Caribbean, where piracy and the only slightly more legitimate activities of the Spanish *Guarda-Costas* subjected trade to much of the annoyance and expense of war.[66] Vessels returning from Jamaica were particularly exposed to seizure, for they had to make their way either through the narrow Windward Passage or along the southern coast of Cuba and around the western end of the island, past Havana, into the Florida Straits. The Pepperrells could trade in greater safety with Antigua and Barbados, on the outer edge of Spain's *mare clausum,* but to penetrate farther was hazardous even for legal traders in time of peace.

Buccaneering was not, of course, limited to the Caribbean area, as any boy who has ever dug for Captain Kidd's gold is well aware, and the Carolina coast was undeniably notorious in this respect. The *Bonetta,* homeward-bound from Barbados, was waylaid off the Chesapeake Capes by a pirate ship of twenty guns in 1717, the year before she went to London to be sold. The pirate stripped her of "about forty hogsheads of rum, a hogshead and several barrels of sugar, a negro man, together with other goods," and did considerable damage to the vessel besides.[67] Pirates were apt to be encountered in colder waters too. Captain John More, returning from Holland in the brigantine *Mary,* was stopped by one on the Banks of Newfoundland in the fall of 1723.[68] This same pirate, a certain John Phillips, captured a sloop the following spring within sight of Cape Ann; but the master of the sloop, Captain Haraden of Annisquam, quickly organized a mutiny and cut short Phillips' piratical career by lopping off his head.[69] Moreover, Lovewell's War had its naval side. In 1724 the Indians captured a large schooner armed with two swivel guns in which they went cruising off the Isles of Shoals so effectively that, as a mariner of the Shoals observed,

[66] For an account of Spanish depredations and English reprisals between 1713 and 1739, see Pares, *op. cit.,* pp. 14–28.

[67] Saltonstall, *op. cit.,* p. 27. The master of the *Bonetta* was John Frost, a son-in-law of Col. Pepperrell. When Capt. Clampitt took the *Bonetta* to Barbados and London the following year, Frost had a small share in the vessel.

[68] *Boston News-Letter,* Oct. 10, 1723.

[69] Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century,* pp. 46, 115.

"fishermen don't go East of this place or scarce to sea." [70] A son-in-law of Colonel Pepperrell, Dr. George Jackson, went in pursuit of the seafaring Indians. Mere foresight might have prompted the including of a physician in such an affair, but only because at Piscataqua men led amphibious lives could one have been placed in command. In the brisk engagement that took place Dr. Jackson was wounded. Nevertheless, aided by a shallop that had accompanied his vessel, he "so warmly ply'd the Indian Enemy that they ran into Penobscot." [71]

Piracy, however, is a subject that was as much exaggerated at the time as it has been overemphasized since. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century mariners were given to sighting pirates with as great a propensity as Cotton Mather and old William Stoughton had for seeing witches, and that a shipmaster also could be fallible on such an occasion was demonstrated by an experience of Colonel Pepperrell's nephew, William Frost. On returning to Piscataqua from a voyage to Antigua, Captain Frost told of being chased along the coast for three days by a large sloop. When he finally managed to outsail the sloop, so his story ran, she hoisted a black flag and stood in for Block Island. The incident was duly reported in the *Boston News-Letter* as a narrow escape, but the sequel to Captain Frost's story, appearing in the next issue of the paper, proved that not every black flag sighted off the coast was the "Jolly Roger." "The sloop that was tho't to be a pirate which we mentioned in our last," the *News-Letter* stated, "is since arrived here, being Captain Hardy from Maryland who only endeavored to come up with Captain Forst's [sic] brigantine to speak with 'em, and what Captain Forst took to be a black flag was a great-coat which they had hung up to dry." [72]

One of the favorite spots for the Caribbean buccaneers was the well-traveled run from Barbados to Salt Tortuga, some four hundred miles to the southwest, where, by the treaty of Utrecht, Spain had accorded English subjects the right to gather salt. Whether real or only fancied, pirates were so frequently reported hovering about

[70] Saltonstall, *op. cit.*, p. 28. [71] *Boston News-Letter,* July 30, 1724.

[72] *Boston News-Letter,* Oct. 31, 1734, and Nov. 8, 1734. The spelling "Forst" was a not-uncommon variant of the name.

to the leeward, southwest of Barbados, that it became almost standard practice for the Pepperrells to caution the masters of their vessels against attempting the run to Salt Tortuga unless accompanied by "vessels of force." [73] This usually meant an additional expense. During Queen Anne's War the Royal Navy had convoyed shipping free of charge; the salt trade came in for its share of protection either by men of war on the Leeward Islands station or by ships from the North American station that had wintered in the West Indies.[74] The wartime arrangement under which the salt fleet was convoyed back to the northern colonies by one of the returning North American station ships was apparently still resorted to as late as 1733. That year H.M.S. *Scarborough,* Captain Durell, commander, acted as escort to a fleet of thirty-six sail. Shortly after the *Scarborough* and her brood left Salt Tortuga, they were attacked by two heavily armed vessels under Spanish colors. Captain Durell, returning the Spaniards' fire, finally succeeded in drawing them off and gave the fleet a chance to scatter, but not until two Salem vessels and two from Boston had been taken.[75]

Presumably the services of Captain Durell and his fellow commanders were, when available, still given free of charge, but when a master of the Pepperrells had to pay for an escort at Barbados, he sometimes found his expenses doubled as a result. The master of the *William* spent £8 10*s.* for this purpose in February, 1724, when all his other charges at Barbados amounted to only £8 1*s.* 7*d.*[76] Two years later he paid £6 in cash "to David Burch for Convoy"; and in 1730 Captain Oram of the *Andrew* paid £18 11*s.* 8*d.* "for convoy money and sailing orders" while the rest of his disbursements only came to some £14 2*s.*[77] If no escort was available, there were still a number of possibilities open. Salt might be obtained at Anguilla,

[73] This was the case in the spring of 1717, in the winter of 1719–1720, 1723–1724, 1725–1726, and 1727–1728, and in 1730.

[74] Pares, *op. cit.,* pp. 276–277. Bourne, *op. cit.,* chap. iv, is a good general account of the convoy system during the war.

[75] *Boston News-Letter,* April 12, 1733.

[76] Capt. George King's accounts from Barbados and Salt Tortuga, Feb., 1724, MeHS MSS., Book I.

[77] Accounts of the brigantine *William* [1725–1726], *ibid.,* Book II; Robert Oram's accounts from Barbados, 1730, HUHL MSS. The total disbursements of the *William* in 1725–1726 came to £55 16*s.* and a few odd pence, of which an unusually large amount, some £21 16*s.,* was in payments to the crew.

or freight could be accepted for London and from there a vessel could go to Lisbon, Cadiz, or the Isle of May for salt.

War with Spain, or even the threat of war, limited these possibilities, however. It obliged the Pepperrells to rely on the discretion of their captains and correspondents to a greater extent than usual and prompted them to spend additional sums on insurance. When the Pepperrells sent the brigantine *William* to Antigua in December, 1727, their original plan was to have Kerby load the vessel for England and to have her sold there if at least £300 sterling could be obtained. If she were not sold, they proposed to have her go to Newcastle to load coal for Piscataqua or to Cadiz to load salt. In the event of war, so they wrote to Kerby, the vessel would have to go to Lisbon instead. Then it occurred to the Pepperrells that in case of war the voyage from Antigua to England might be dangerous, so they added a postscript asking Kerby to write for £400 sterling of insurance. Finally, they wrote Kerby suggesting that it might "be more for advantage" to sell the *William* at Antigua for £200 sterling than to fit her out for the long haul across the Atlantic. They added that Kerby should, however, do what he thought best.[78] As it turned out, Kerby sent the *William* back to Piscataqua. There were, he explained, so many ships at Antigua which were regularly in the English trade and which had to be dispatched first, that it would mean a long delay should the *William* wait for a cargo; and since no salt was available at Anguilla, nor were any vessels of force going to Salt Tortuga, that he had heard of, the best thing he could do was to return the vessel direct to Piscataqua. The goods he could get for freight in addition to those on his and the Pepperrells' accounts would, he concluded, "go near to lade her." [79] For vessels shuttling back and forth between New England and Barbados or Antigua, the threat of war created no new problems; and this was the course that most of the Pepperrells' West India trade followed.

As for their trade with Antigua, the Pepperrells' greatest source of anxiety was the uncertain condition of the sugar crop and the repeatedly announced determination of their correspondent there, Thomas Kerby, to give up his business and retire to England. As

[78] Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Kerby, Dec. 6, 1727, MeHS MSS., Book II; Pepperrell to Kerby, Jan. 17, 1728, *ibid.*

[79] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Feb. 16, 1728, *ibid.*

a young man Kerby had been implicated in the uprising against Governor Daniel Parke in 1710. One account makes him the "infamous" ringleader who, when the conflict became a revolt, fired the shot that signaled the storming of the Governor's mansion.[80] Kerby's story, on the other hand, was that he had constantly done all that he could to prevent the outraged populace from resorting to arms and violence, that when Parke received his fatal wound at the hands of the mob he had gone to the Governor's house and done "all the offices of humanity." [81] Whatever part he may have played in the last mad episode of the conflict, Kerby, as a large landowner and secretary of the colony, had been one of the more prominent figures of the anti-Parke faction. On this account if for no other, he was not included in the general amnesty that Parke's successor brought to the island the following summer. Charged with high treason and rebellion, Kerby was carried to England in irons. However, his petition for clemency and the intervention of his friends apparently met with some favor, for within a few years he was once more leading the respectable life of an Antigua merchant. By 1722 he was handling the Pepperrells' Antigua trade.

Many years afterward, when the Antigua uprising had been long forgotten, a last rippling backwash touched the affairs of the Pepperrells. Some years after the murder of Governor Parke, one of his late supporters, Isaac Royall by name, found it expedient to remove his household to the less revolutionary atmosphere of Massachusetts. There he continued to prosper; and in 1767 a granddaughter of the Antigua émigré married the grandson and heir of the younger William Pepperrell. Eight years later, in 1775, they in turn were forced to leave their home by an uprising with which they were not in sympathy.

But to return to Antigua, by 1725 Thomas Kerby had had his fill of handling lumber cargoes, and, adding to the fatigue of the business, an occasional shipment of horses now began to arrive from the Pepperrells. Horses were never very profitable, he wrote, unless they were saddle horses or fit for "chariots," since most planters

[80] Bourne, *op. cit.*, pp. 233–235.

[81] *Cal. St. Papers*, 1712–1714, No. 136; also *ibid.*, No. 4, for a recommendation by the new governor, Walter Douglas, that Kerby be pardoned, and Oliver, *op. cit.*, II, 119–120, III, 332.

were now using windmills for making sugar. He therefore recommended that the Pepperrells omit horses and "enlarge" their future cargoes with "candles, soap, and six or eight hogsheads of good codfish . . . together with some clapboards and good white oak staves and heading, as also the best of shingles. . . . Whatever you send again," Kerby continued, "I pray you will take care and see that everything be the best in its kind." [82] The Pepperrells followed Kerby's advice to the extent of not shipping horses, substituting in their stead an occasional mast and a few spars, but for the rest they continued to send red oak staves to Kerby and goods which called forth further complaint.

A series of poor crops added to Kerby's annoyances. In 1725 the sugar crop was, he wrote, "very backward" and reduced by heavy spring rains, and the very next year a prolonged drought left the island in a "most miserable condition." [83] Under these circumstances it was indeed difficult for Kerby to fulfill his obligations to the Pepperrells and at the same time to take care of his own affairs. The commissions he received for handling the Pepperrells' consignments were, he pointed out, scarcely an adequate inducement to his acting as their correspondent.[84] The relationship rested, however, on the expectation of reciprocal service. In return for acting as their correspondent Kerby could expect the Pepperrells to look after the shipments he made on his own account in their vessels, as well as the trade that he carried on with New England in a sloop of which he was owner. But in times of scarcity the relationship was a delicate one. When Kerby's trade with New England declined, as it did in 1725, the incentive for taking care of the Pepperrells' trade was that much less. When the sugar crop was poor, there was, furthermore, the possibility that Kerby could secure his own interests only at the expense of ethics. The arrival of the Pepperrells' sloop *Eagle* at the very end of the 1725 season, when there were few if any goods to be had, not only provoked Kerby to complain about

[82] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Sept. 15, 1725, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[83] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, May 1, 1725, *ibid.;* Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, March 12, 1726, *ibid.,* Book I.

[84] In 1725 Kerby's commissions on shipments purchased for the Pepperrells (7 per cent), on cash furnished to one of their masters (7 per cent), and on the sale of their southbound cargoes (5 per cent), totaled approximately £45; Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, their account current from Thomas Kerby, Oct. 8, 1725, MeHS MSS., Book I.

the type and quality of her cargo, as already noted, but presented him with the problem of how best to follow the Pepperrells' instructions in the matter of making returns. There were a few casks of rum here and there, he immediately wrote the Pepperrells, "but the planters talk of two shillings per gallon for the same and about twenty to twenty-four shillings per hundredweight for their sugar . . . molasses and cotton being quite gone." [85] However, by the time the *Eagle* was ready to sail, a month later, Kerby had managed to find seven hogsheads of molasses and four bags of cotton. He shipped the cotton on his own account, although the Pepperrells had specifically asked him to send some on theirs; but the molasses he included in the Pepperrells' own consignment and at the reasonable price of nine pence per gallon. Most of the rum in the shipment was priced at eighteen pence per gallon, with a small quantity at twenty pence, both fairly high prices but not unusually so. For the *Eagle*'s sugar cargo, Kerby likewise billed the Pepperrells at a price lower than the one he had first quoted. About two-thirds of it was priced at twenty shillings per hundredweight and the rest at eighteen and fifteen shillings.[86] The last was lower than any other price quoted or charged the Pepperrells during the decade, and they were well content. "We return you hearty thanks for your kindness in dispatching Jordan [the master of the *Eagle*]," wrote one of the Pepperrells to Kerby. "We are well assured," he continued, "that you did all that lay in your power in the disposal of his cargo, and the West India goods you sent us by him was more than we could expect, considering the time of the year the sloop was with you." [87]

In the following spring the Pepperrells changed their plans for sending another vessel to Antigua, presumably on receipt of Kerby's letter of March 12 telling of the distressed condition of the sugar planters. They then heard nothing further from him for more than a year afterward. At least two letters asking Kerby about market conditions and for instructions concerning the balance due him on his account at Piscataqua either failed to reach Antigua or were

[85] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Sept. 15, 1725, *ibid.*, Book II.

[86] Bill of lading, Oct. 8, 1725, *ibid.*, Book I; invoice of cargo, sloop *Eagle*, Oct. 7, 1725, *ibid.*

[87] Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Kerby, Jan. 16, 1726, *ibid.*, Book II.

ignored by Kerby. Finally, in the summer of 1727, the Pepperrells sent Captain Clear to Antigua in a new brigantine, named the *Eagle,* with a request to Kerby that he dispose of her cargo for "ready pay," settle their account, and return whatever their balance happened to be in rum, molasses, sugar, and cotton.[88] They urged Kerby to send the *Eagle* back to Kittery as speedily as possible "because of the season of the year which will make it difficult coming on this coast." [89]

Kerby, too, wanted to hasten the *Eagle* away, for he had now made up his mind to close out all his accounts and leave for England the following June. But the vessel had "come to a most miserable market"; fish could only be sold for credit, and the *Eagle*'s lumber was not worth more than £3 per thousand feet in ready pay, Kerby wrote. "As for your shingles," he was again forced to complain, "they are I think as bad if not the worst I ever saw . . . being really bad in themselves they have the disadvantage of being illy made up, being bound with withes instead of hoops and by that means greatly broke and damaged." In order to obtain a return cargo for the *Eagle,* Kerby was forced to advance money for her fish and lumber himself, something he would not do for everyone, he wrote, and this put the account "considerably" in his favor.[90] The situation repeated itself four months later when the brigantine *William* arrived at Antigua. Kerby, believing it more to the Pepperrells' interest for him "to sell cheap and make returns than to have outstanding debts on any terms," was determined to sell the *William*'s cargo only for ready money; but the cargo was still on hand in the middle of February, a month after the vessel's arrival. The island was "glutted" with goods from New England, Kerby wrote, and most of those that came out of the *William* were "very ordinary." The shingles were again, he declared, "so very bad that nobody will meddle with them on any terms. . . . For the future," Kerby went

[88] The New Hampshire Naval Office Records for July, 1727, list the brigantine *Eagle* registered in New Hampshire, 1726. This may have been the sloop *Eagle* rerigged as a brigantine or the sloop that almost came to grief at Cadiz, but the chances are that it was a newly built vessel.

[89] Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Kerby, July 15, 1727, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[90] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Sept. 10, 1727, *ibid.,* Book I; Kerby to Pepperrell, Antigua, Sept. 18, 1727, *ibid.,* Book II.

on, "let me entreat you to send better or none for it is really only throwing away your money to meddle with such trash." [91] The goods had not yet been sold by April 1. By that time Kerby had put off his departure until July, a month later than the original date, and he now promised the Pepperrells that if he could not sell the *William*'s cargo before he left he would take all the lumber himself at the market price and sell the fish "by outcry, or on any other terms, rather than to leave it behind." [92]

The news that they were to "lose a real friend" at Antigua was most unwelcome to the Pepperrells. The only encouragement they could find, they told Kerby, was that by his departure they would be gaining a friend in London.[93] So kind and amiable was their expression of regret that Kerby, referring to the Pepperrells' letter, was moved to reply: "It lays me under the deepest obligations to you and will forever engage me to exert myself for your service." [94]

The Pepperrells had no intention at that time of giving up their Antigua trade. Even in a poor year, such as 1725, a cargo of New England goods netted them some £228, and in the spring of 1728, with the date of Kerby's departure drawing near, the prospects of Antigua's having a plentiful crop appeared promising.[95] Consequently they asked Kerby to recommend someone who would be willing to take over their business. This he did, suggesting an "intelligent young gentleman" named William Gerrish, Jr., whose father, "a considerable merchant in London," was a good friend of Kerby's. He assured them that they would find young Gerrish faithful and diligent, "careful as well as very capable." [96] Gerrish never had the opportunity, however, of proving his ability, for Kerby again postponed his departure and ceased to mention the idea in his subsequent letters. Not until some seven or eight years later did he finally take his leave of the island, and by then his son was old enough to handle the business.

No vessel arrived from the Pepperrells in 1728. They had sold a

[91] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Feb. 16, 1728, *ibid.*, Book II.
[92] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, April 1, 1728, *ibid.*
[93] Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Kerby, Dec. 6, 1727, *ibid.*
[94] Kerby's letter of Feb. 16, 1728, cited in note 91 above.
[95] Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, account current from Thomas Kerby, Oct. 8, 1725, MeHS MSS., Book I; Kerby to Pepperrell, Antigua, April 1, 1728, *ibid.*, Book II.
[96] Kerby's letter of April 1, cited in notes 92 and 95 above.

part share in the *William,* and the younger William Pepperrell, who seems to have taken over the management of the brigantine, had other plans for her.[97] The following year, however, they sent a schooner, and possibly a second vessel, to Antigua and another in the summer of 1730. In the spring of 1731 Antigua again had a small crop; the price of lumber and other New England commodities was low, and so slight was the possibility of obtaining a return cargo that Kerby advised the Pepperrells not to send a vessel that season.[98] The next year their "ship" *Eagle,* Robert Oram master, which sailed from Piscataqua early in June, apparently returned to Kittery for another cargo and arrived back at Antigua on December 30, bound for London.[99]

Three years earlier, in 1729, they had questioned Kerby as to loading a vessel for London, but at that time he had advised against it. There were, he said, a number of New England vessels already at Antigua awaiting cargoes for London, besides "ten or a dozen more" that were expected from that port.[100] The following year, however, the Pepperrells decided to "shuffle in among a crowd," as Kerby put it, and scheduled a new vessel then under construction for a voyage to Antigua and London. Unfortunately the builder could not complete the vessel in the time agreed upon, and when she arrived at Antigua, no freight was available.[101] The voyage of the *Eagle* in 1732 was more successful.[102]

Instead of loading what Kerby had assembled in the way of a cargo or accepting whatever freight was offered, the *Eagle* was loaded under a contract of affreightment, as it would be called today. Nine planters and one Elizabeth Langford obliged themselves to deliver to the *Eagle* by a specified date sufficient cargo to fill the vessel—about 220 hogsheads—in consideration of which

97 Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Kerby, July 22, 1728, MeHS MSS., Book I.

98 Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, May 18, 1731, HUHL MSS.

99 Bill of lading, June 3, 1732, Maine State Library MS. Colls., Augusta, Me., Pepperrell docs.; Thomas Kerby to Messrs. Pepperrell, Antigua, Feb. 2, 1733, MeHS MSS., Book II.

100 Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, March 12, 1728, MeHS MSS., Book II.

101 Thomas Kerby's letter of May 18, 1731, cited in note 98 above.

102 Every reference to the *Eagle* in 1732–1733 designates the vessel a "ship"; but whether she was the newly built vessel mentioned above or the old *Eagle* cannot be conclusively determined.

Captain Oram agreed to take their cargo at three shillings per hundredweight and not to accept any from other persons. Failure on the part of a subscriber to deliver the full amount that he agreed to ship would subject him to a penalty of ten shillings per hogshead on the amount lacking and would entitle the captain to make up the difference by taking in cargo from anyone else.[103]

Kerby was somewhat afraid that the Pepperrells would think three shillings a low rate of freight; but when he considered that a Boston vessel had agreed to load at the same rate for a late March sailing, whereas the *Eagle*'s deadline was February 15, he felt certain that he had acted to their best interest. He had not counted, however, on the island's capricious weather. Heavy rains during the month of January made it impossible to operate sugar mills and prevented loading the *Eagle;* and "as impossibilities are not to be performed," Kerby conceded, "we can't insist on the penalty mentioned in the subscription." [104] The Pepperrells were probably not too well pleased by the delay. Finally, the ship sailed, but it was late May or early June before she entered the Thames estuary and made her way up to the London docks. From London she sailed to the Isle of May, perhaps by way of Lisbon or Cadiz, and there took on a cargo of salt. By the first week of October she was once more at Piscataqua.[105]

The freight earned by the *Eagle* on her voyage from Antigua to London, amounting to £323 9*s.* 8*d.*, was credited to one of the accounts which the Pepperrells carried in England.[106] At that time they had at least three different accounts there: one with Silas Hooper of London, another with Roger Prowse, the Exeter merchant, and a third with the Lewen partners. If the variety of services that he performed for the Pepperrells is used as a criterion, Hooper was their major English correspondent. From collecting insurance money on their losses and presenting their bills of exchange for payment Hooper's tasks ranged to such unprofessional matters as getting Colonel Pepperrell's son-in-law out of jail. Hooper sent

[103] A copy of the contract, dated Jan. 1, 1733, is in MeHS MSS., Book I.

[104] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Feb. 2, 1733, *ibid.,* Book II.

[105] Bill for work on the *Eagle,* June 7, 1733, NEHG MSS., Book I; receipt for wages, London, June 12, 1733, *ibid.;* several receipts for salt, Kittery, Oct. 8, 1733, *ibid.*

[106] Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, account current with Robert Lewen, Blandford, Sept. 29, 1733, *ibid.*

consignments of English goods to the Pepperrells from time to time; but the primary purpose of these shipments seems to have been to balance the Pepperrells' account.[107] A statement of their account covering the fifteen months from January 1, 1730, to March 31, 1731, shows no shipment of goods from Hooper. A little over £100, representing the cost of insurance on a vessel and payments of cash to various persons, were charged against the Pepperrells in addition to the old unpaid balance of some £107. The total came to £210 6*s.* 10*d.* On the other side of the ledger the Pepperrells were credited with a total of £250 in cash, bills, and their share of the *William*'s profits. The balance, Hooper noted, would be remitted "agreeable to your former orders." [108]

Roger Prowse, however, was very conveniently situated to act as an exporter of English goods to Piscataqua. Exeter, his home, was still an important center of England's woolen industry. He was interested in the Newfoundland trade and was the owner of a vessel in the New England trade whose return cargoes of fish were supplied by the Pepperrells. Many of the bills of exchange that the Pepperrells acquired were drawn on Prowse's West Country neighbors. One set of bills which the Pepperrells sent him in 1725, accompanying an order for some goods, totaled more than £242.[109]

The Pepperrells' account with the Lewens was an outgrowth of the Lisbon trade and involved, as did their account with Hooper, joint ownership of a vessel. It served, to a greater extent than Hooper's account, as a basis for importing English goods. Charles Lewen received an order from the Pepperrells, in 1729, that included such varied items as two five-and-one-half-inch cables, several pounds of large duckshot, nails, spikes, "coral" duck for "small sails," and a piece of broadcloth "of a fashionable color as good as can be bought for twelve or thirteen shillings per yard with shalloon mohair buttons and silk suitable to make it up." [110] In 1733 as the

[107] Silas Hooper to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, London, May 4, 1731, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point; Hooper to Pepperrell, London, Feb. 7, 1730, MeHS MSS., Book I; Hooper to Pepperrell, London, June 5, 1725, *ibid.*, Book II.

[108] Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, account current with Silas Hooper, London, March 31, 1731, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point.

[109] Roger Prowse to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, Exeter, Feb. 1, 1726, HUHL MSS.; invoice, March 13, 1732, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XIX (1865), 144.

[110] Wm. Pepperrell to Charles Lewen, Dec. 9, 1729, MeHS MSS., Book II.

following account shows, Robert Lewen made two sizable shipments to the Pepperrells against the amount of the *Eagle*'s freight.[111]

Both Silas Hooper and the Lewens associated themselves with the Pepperrells in the ownership of a vessel employed in that particular trade in which they were respectively interested. In Hooper's case the vessel was the brigantine *William,* sailing in the Barbados trade.

Henry Hole, who upon the death of his father sometime after 1713 had taken over the conduct of the Pepperrells' business at Barbados, soon ceased to act as their correspondent. He was succeeded by a merchant named Benjamin Bullard, a transplanted New Englander. In 1719, apparently the last year in which Henry Hole acted for them, Bullard shipped the Pepperrells a consignment of rum and five Negro slaves. It may be that on other occasions also they engaged in the slave traffic, on a similar scale, for one item in the St. Domingue accounts of the younger William and his brother-in-law, Benjamin Clarke, seems to cover the sale of a Negro slave.[112] But slave dealing was an insignificant feature of their business. They doubtless had no great scruples against the trade, for they themselves were slaveowners; that they refrained because of the perishable nature of the cargo is more likely, since four of the five slaves shipped by Bullard died at sea and the other did not long survive the voyage. A deficiency of clothing so early in the spring was probably responsible, wrote one of the Pepperrells.[113]

Their connection with Bullard was slender, however, for in the fall of 1719 they sent Captain Clampitt on a "trading" voyage to the island.[114] Voyages of this nature, in which the master of the vessel sold his cargo instead of turning it over to a local correspondent and purchased his return cargo himself, were seldom undertaken by the Pepperrells except to North Carolina and Newfoundland. The following year Bullard did, apparently, handle a cargo "on consignment," and when another sloop, the *Molly,* called at Bar-

111 Account with Robert Lewen, Sept. 29, 1733, cited in note 106 above.

112 Martin Grangent's account current with Capt. Clarke, Aug. 14, 1730, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point.

113 Parsons, *op. cit.,* p. 28. Parsons mistakenly identifies Bullard as "a merchant of Antigua." A bill of lading for one "Negro woman" shows fifty shillings as the freight, payable by the consignee, Wm. Pepperrell, upon delivery and in good order and condition, "mortality excepted"; bill of lading, April 11, 1719, MeHS MSS., Book II.

114 Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Edward Clampitt, Nov. 14, 1719, MeHS MSS., Book II.

Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, their Account Current with Robert Lewen

Dr.		Contra Cr.	
1732		1732	
July 25—To charges on casting a bell sent per Capt. Shepherdson	£ 13. 7. 9	—By their Remitt. on Sam'l Peters of Exon	£120. 0. 0.
1732/3		1733	
Mar. 3—To Sundry Goods sent 'em per the *Lark*, Thos. Grocock, master	116. 6. 3	—By the Am't of the *Eagle's* freight	323. 9. 8.
		—By the Net drawback on the Goods per Cary	5.12. 0.
July —To cash supply'd Capt. Rob't Oram for their Acc't.	136. 0. 0	—Balance due from Messrs. Pepperrell	3. 1. 9.
			£452. 3. 5.
Sept. 15—To Sundry Goods sent 'em per the *Susanna*, Sam'l Cary	186. 5. 5		
—To Postage of Letters	4. 0		
	£452. 3. 5		

/s/ Robert Lewen
Blandford, Sept. 29, 1733

Source: New England Historic Genealogical Society manuscript collections, Pepperrell Papers, Book I.

bados soon afterward to load for London, he made arrangements for her freight. But with the exception of advising the master in his purchases, Bullard had nothing to do with selling and laying out the proceeds of the *Molly*'s southbound cargo. At the same time, in partnership with another merchant of Barbados, Bullard was carrying on his own trade with Piscataqua and the Pepperrells. He was not, however, so dependent on their good offices in this respect as Thomas Kerby of Antigua, for family ties and friendships linked him with Portsmouth, where his father had once been a shipmaster.[115]

One of Bullard's Piscataqua friends happened to be Captain Benjamin Clarke, the Pepperrell son-in-law whom Silas Hooper extricated from an English prison and placed in command of a "good ship" in the Barbados trade. A few years afterward Clarke was master of a vessel in which Thomas Kerby of Antigua had a part interest. He impressed Kerby as "a sober, brisk, active, modest man" who would give satisfaction to the owners and "get money for himself."[116] The latter judgment proved correct, for soon Clarke was able to build a fair-sized square-rigger which he named the *Kingston,* after his native village in New Hampshire, and in which Thomas Harper of Barbados, Silas Hooper, the Pepperrells, and Clarke owned quarter shares. Harper acted as managing owner, and Clarke, as master, sailed the ship in the London sugar trade. An occasional call was made at Martinique, and sometimes Captain Clarke returned to the West Indies by way of Piscataqua.[117] The French islands were the scene of further activity on his part. While he sailed as master of the *Kingston,* Clarke and his brother-in-law, the younger William Pepperrell, were jointly carrying on a trade with Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Domingue in which they employed several vessels. Somewhere in Captain Clarke's multifarious ventures his good friend Benjamin Bullard also had a hand;

[115] Receipt signed by Isaac Coleman, master of the snow *George,* Piscataqua, Nov. 19, 1720, HUHL MSS.; C. T. Libby, Sybil Noyes, and W. G. Davis, *Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire* (Portland, Me., 1928–1939), p. 119.

[116] Silas Hooper to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, London, May 4, 1731, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point; Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, July 27, 1725, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[117] Capt. Benjamin Clarke to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, May 3 [30?], 1728, NEHG MSS., Book II; Silas Hooper to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, London, Feb. 7, 1730, MeHS MSS., Book I.

for after Clarke's death in 1730 William Pepperrell, Jr., curtly called Bullard to task for not settling his accounts with Clarke's estate.[118]

Thomas Harper seems to have been the Pepperrells' closest associate at Barbados. The brigantine *William,* in which Harper had a share, was a regular and frequent visitor to Carlisle Bay. In 1723, and again in 1724, she made two voyages to the island. In 1725, after sailing in the spring to Newfoundland and Ireland and then back to Kittery by way of Antigua, the *William* again went to Barbados. In the spring of 1726 she made another trip, and probably a second one in the fall of the year. Each time her cargo for the Pepperrells' account was consigned to Harper. Probably in most years the Pepperrells sent a sloop as well as the *William* to Barbados. They did so in 1723 and also in 1727, when they sent a sloop to the island by way of Maryland. Benjamin Clarke's *Kingston* carried some of their business to Barbados in 1728 and perhaps in other years as well. But by this time Harper, like Thomas Kerby, had decided to go to England. He had already left Barbados when the *William* arrived with a cargo of wine from Madeira late in 1728 or in the early months of 1729.[119] Her cargo was therefore turned over to another merchant, James Pemberton, who bore a name that was associated with the commercial life of Philadelphia and that of Boston as well.

Within a year or so Harper died, and Pemberton continued to handle the Pepperrells' trade. Two schooners, the *Scarborough,* under Captain John Kennard, and the *Sea Horse,* commanded by John Sherburne, now joined the *William* in the Barbados trade. Pemberton's clerk was not the most orderly bookkeeper, and it is difficult to determine from his accounts how many cargoes Pemberton received from the Pepperrells during the next few years. In 1730 the *Andrew* and another brigantine departed for Barbados, but only the *Andrew* arrived. The other one foundered at sea. The captain and crew made their way in the brigantine's longboat to

[118] Hugues Grangent to Messrs. Pepperrell, St. Pierre, Dec. 17, 1729, NEHG MSS., Book I; Wm. Pepperrell to Benjamin Bullard, April 2, 1731, MeHS MSS., Book II; same to same, June 17, 1731, *ibid.*

[119] Wm. Pepperrell to Wm. Nichols, Oct. 30, 1741, New York Public Library MS. Colls., Miscellaneous Papers. This lengthy letter to the Pepperrells' Barbados correspondent covers several details of their former dealings with Harper.

Antigua, where they were looked after by Thomas Kerby.[120] The next year Captain Kennard made two voyages to Barbados, sailing from Kittery early in June and again in September, and there is some indication that a third vessel, perhaps the *William,* sailed for Barbados early in the spring. In the following year, 1732, the only record of sailings is an invoice dated August 9, which covered a sizable consignment shipped by Pemberton on board the *William.* The next summer Pemberton sent the Pepperrells a very small shipment of "sundries," some forty-eight pounds' worth, in the schooner *Sea Horse* in which no cargo had apparently been shipped by the Pepperrells on their account. A few weeks later, however, Pemberton received a large cargo of lumber and fish, two barrels of tar, and a mast and six spars on the *William,* but he put nothing on board for her return trip to Kittery. Possibly she went to Salt Tortuga for her return cargo.[121]

Benjamin Bullard may have handled some of the Pepperrells' business in these four closing years of the decade, though the only clue suggests otherwise. One of the letters which the younger William wrote to Bullard in 1731 regarding Benjamin Clarke's account was taken to Barbados by Captain Kennard, but no mention of Captain Kennard's vessel or cargo was made in the letter, as there would have been had Bullard been concerned with the schooner. Two previous letters to Bullard likewise made no mention of the Pepperrells' current business.[122] Nor was there any unusual procrastination on Bullard's part to account for the peremptory tone used by William, for scarcely a year had passed since Clarke's death. Presumably Bullard had been edged out of his former position first by Harper and then by Pemberton.

During the decade from 1723 to 1733 shifting winds changed the course of the Pepperrells' trade. Their shuttle trade with Newfoundland was curtailed in favor of less frequent triangular voyages. By 1730 they were no longer sending their vessels to North Carolina. They had found it necessary to revise their trade with Spain and Portugal. In the West Indies, Antigua seems to have had more than

[120] Robert Oram's account from Barbados, 1730, HUHL MSS.; Thomas Kerby to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Aug. 26, 1730, *ibid.*

[121] James Pemberton's Account, 1732–1733, MeHS MSS., Book I.

[122] Wm. Pepperrell to Benjamin Bullard, April 2, 1731, and June 17, 1731, cited in note 118 above; also same to same, Jan. 12, 1731, MeHS MSS., Book II.

its usual share of uncertain market conditions. In four of the years, 1724, 1726, 1728, and 1731, and perhaps again in 1733, the Pepperrells failed to send a single vessel there.[123] In one of these years, the winter of 1727–1728, they passed Antigua by in favor of a less familiar path of trade, one that took the *William* to Madeira for a cargo of wine destined for the cupboards of planters. In spite of changing correspondents the Pepperrells' trade to and from Barbados was considerably more regular than their Antigua trade, but on the other hand it revealed more clearly the shift that was taking place. Barbados was the known position from which the Pepperrells took their departure along a new course. It was the point where their interests met and merged with those of Benjamin Clarke, Silas Hooper, and Thomas Harper. In league with them the Pepperrells sent the *William* on her three-legged voyages and extended their activities to the French islands.

The changes that were taking place can be accounted for partly by the normal vicissitudes of trade and partly by the fact that the decade marked the end of an era. In 1723 Colonel Pepperrell had reached the age of seventy-five. His old friends and associates, John Usher and Andrew Belcher of Boston, Elias Pearse of London, Anthony Monteiro, who had been his early correspondent in Antigua, and Benjamin and Joseph Hole of Barbados, were all passing off the stage. The contemporaries of William Pepperrell, Jr., were men of broader interests, more versatile in their affairs. Those of the second generation whose fathers had provided them with the means, such as the younger Pepperrell, Samuel Waldo, and Jonathan Belcher, became "gentlemen colonists." They entered the political arena, acquired country seats and town houses, and invested their funds in land or in promising commercial ventures. Others, like Thomas Hancock and Benjamin Clarke and like many an aspiring young businessman of any generation, followed regardless of its turnings whatever path seemed to lead to riches. That a new helmsman was guiding the affairs of the Pepperrells first became evident in connection with that part of their trade which deviated from the customary course.

[123] Kerby wrote the Pepperrells in Oct., 1725, and enclosed an affidavit to prove that one of their vessels, the *Great Caesar,* bound for Antigua had never arrived. She may have sailed in the preceding year. Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, Antigua, Oct. 7, 1725, MeHS MSS., Book II.

⚓ CHAPTER VI

The Second Generation at the Helm

⚓ AMONG the items of local importance on the back page of the *Boston News-Letter* of Thursday, February 21, 1734, there appeared the following brief notice: "On Friday morning last died at Kittery, the Hon. William Pepperrell, Esq., aged 87 years." The notice itself was a measure of his standing, for the only deaths the paper ever reported were those of the most worthy divines and leading men of affairs and a few lesser mortals who died under strange and unusual circumstances.

Seven months before he died, Colonel Pepperrell, "being aged and weak in Body," had set down his wishes concerning the disposal of his goods and possessions. It was a simple document, though rather lengthy. Specific bequests to his wife and daughters, his numerous grandchildren, friends, and other relatives, to his church and the poor of the parish, totaled about £4500 in Massachusetts currency. Another £40 designated as "of my money in Mr. Henry Roe's keeping in Great Britain" was bequeathed to his Devonshire relatives and to the poor of his native Revelstoke. He left a dwelling and half an acre of land at Kittery Point to one of his daughters, and another house with an orchard and several acres of land, also at Kittery Point, to a granddaughter. To Andrew, the eight-year-old son of William, Jr., he left a farm in the neighboring town of York. He provided that a year after his death one of his Negro men-servants should be given his freedom and that another should have "his Discharge, Liberty and Freedom" when he reached the age of forty, on condition that until that time each "behave himself a true and faithful Servant." Another slave he bequeathed to one of his

daughters with the proviso that he likewise be given his freedom at the age of forty. His wife, Margery, was well provided for with £600 and a half interest in the place at Kittery Point. All the remainder of the estate, including his mother's share after her death, went to William, Jr.[1] It included a house in Portsmouth and probably one in Boston. A large part of it was in land; but the bulk of his inheritance was in the shape of ships and trade.

Later, when America began collecting its legends, the story appeared that at the time of Colonel William's death the Pepperrells owned no fewer than a hundred vessels. Undoubtedly they held shares in more vessels than the records now reveal, vessels that were managed by the other participating owners. However, only thirty-five can be definitely identified as belonging to them from 1724 to 1734 inclusive. Of these, five were lost or sold before the end of the decade and one other probably lost. This was nevertheless more than they had owned in any previous period. Perhaps thirty-five vessels were as many as they had under their management and direction at any one time; they may have had a minor share in the ownership of as many, or twice as many, more.

When he came into possession of his inheritance William, Jr., was thirty-eight years old and thoroughly qualified by experience to manage the family business. He had been handling the local retail trade for at least fifteen years; and by 1726 he had taken over the household accounts which, even for a family as numerous as the Pepperrells, were surprisingly large. Rugs, furniture, silver buckles, spectacles, table silver and the like, purchased through the Tylers in Boston, and the cost of sending one of the granddaughters to Boston for her schooling, which was handled through the Tylers, came to a total of more than £813 for the year ending February, 1727. As an illustration of how slight was the difference between the Pepperrells' personal and business affairs, another entry on the same account was an item of £10 representing the Tylers' share in the earnings of a sloop in which they had an interest. William noted that he had concurrently made payments to the Tylers to the sum of £822 5*s*. and thus only a small balance remained due. Half of the payments which he had made to the Tylers were in cash to the amount of something over £185; one consisted of a hundred

[1] Sargent, ed., *Maine Wills,* pp. 342–351.

ounces of silver valued at sixteen shillings per ounce, and the rest were in goods.[2] Boots and shoes were a frequent item of expense; for they were purchased not only for the household, but also for the masters of their vessels, and fishing boots were an article of trade at Newfoundland. One shoemaker's bill received by William in June, 1727, reveals that in the preceding twelve months he had purchased twenty-nine pairs of men's shoes, twelve of women's, five of boots, and three of children's shoes at a total cost of some £22. Another cobbler's bill for the year 1725 amounted to a little more than £52.[3]

In 1725 there appeared also the first definite clue to the younger William's activities in the field of overseas trade. When Captain George King returned to Kittery after several weeks spent in scouring the countryside for a cargo for the brigantine *William*'s next voyage, he presented his accounts to William, Jr., for settlement.[4] And when the brigantine went to Madeira in the late summer of 1728, William and Benjamin Pemberton of Boston jointly directed the undertaking. There was no formal or strict division of responsibility, however. The vessel was fitted out and loaded at Piscataqua, but some of the provisions and supplies were obtained by Pemberton at Boston and sent to Kittery on one of the coasting sloops. Although William made arrangements for the cargo, he did not neglect to seek Pemberton's advice. In reply to one of his queries provoked by the price of "oil," Pemberton assured William that it would fall and suggested that he then purchase fifty barrels. "The haddock you mention I doubt will not answer," continued Pemberton; "as to carrying fish in the hold in bulk as you think it not proper we will let it alone." But, he went on to say, he wanted the vessel to "carry as much fish as possible to make the cargo valuable." [5]

By this time William's interest in the ship *Kingston* had involved him in the Martinique trade, a trade in which he soon began to

[2] Wm. Pepperrell's account with Wm. and Andrew Tyler, 1726–1727, J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point.

[3] John Marshall's account, 1727, NEHG MSS., Book I; Benjamin Parker's account, Feb. 26, 1726, *ibid.*

[4] Capt. George King's account, July, 1724, MeHS MSS., Book I.

[5] Benjamin Pemberton to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, Aug. 5, 1728, Wildes Papers (in possession of J. W. P. Frost, Kittery Point).

exert himself more actively. By 1729 he and Benjamin Clarke had established business relations of the customary sort with one Hugues Grangent of St. Pierre and were enjoying a flourishing trade with the French islands.

Under the terms of the Anglo-French treaty of 1686 each nation had agreed to restrain its subjects from trading with the colonies of the other. Parliament never implemented the treaty, however, with prohibitory legislation affecting English subjects, and efforts on the part of the Board of Trade and Plantations to induce the northern colonies to pass such legislation in their own assemblies were, as was to be expected, of no avail. Royal governors issued proclamations against the trade and sometimes had vessels seized for engaging in it; but neither treaties nor proclamations were recognized by contemporary opinion as legally binding in the absence of legislation, as Governor Lowther of Barbados and Governor Hunter of New York both pointed out. Finally, in 1728, the Privy Council declared that English ships could not be seized for trading with the French colonies provided the Acts of Trade and Navigation were complied with.[6] Although the latter proviso was occasionally overlooked by the younger Pepperrell and his partners and other North American merchants, nevertheless to stigmatize the peacetime trade with the French islands as in itself "illicit" is to distort the realities.

The British sugar planters were disturbed less about the legality of the trade than by its "pernicious" effects upon their own monopoly position. When it was to their profit to condone or even to engage in the trade, they did not hesitate to do so. When the supply of local molasses at Antigua was exhausted in the spring of 1731, Thomas Kerby informed the Pepperrells that French molasses could be had for ten pence per gallon. It had probably been smuggled into Antigua; for both Antigua and Barbados levied prohibitive duties on imports from the French islands which in the case of Barbados amounted to eighteen pence per gallon.[7] Less than six months afterward, Kerby as a member of the Antigua assembly

[6] Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American Histroy,* IV, 62–63; Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies,* pp. 223, 237–240.

[7] Thomas Kerby to Wm. Pepperrell, May 18, 1731, HUHL MSS.; Pares, *op. cit.,* p. 400.

signed a petition to the Board of Trade and Plantations pointing out and praying for relief from the "pernicious trade" between the northern colonies and the French sugar islands.[8] The affiliation of Thomas Harper of Barbados with the Pepperrells and Benjamin Clarke in the Martinique trade was a similar example of the way low prices were attracting merchants of the competing British islands as well as traders from New England.

In 1729 Hugues Grangent sent at least four cargoes of rum and molasses to William Pepperrell and was preparing to load two more for him in the middle of December. Another vessel was supposed to have sailed for Kittery from Guadeloupe early in November, but six weeks later Grangent learned that she was still there. The master was responsible for the delay, Grangent wrote. "Because I intended the cargo should be consigned to yourself, I was," he complained, "obliged at last to come to his measures. Therefore the cargo doth not go upon my account. . . . As I have no reason to be satisfied with Captain Butler's proceedings," continued Grangent, "I desire of you to turn him out and put another master in his place." By apparently refusing to accept the cargo on Grangent's account, Captain Butler hindered the merchant's efforts to make remittances for three cargoes that he had received from William Pepperrell earlier in the year. Two of them seem to have been sold at St. Lucia, one of the so-called Neutral Islands. Grangent therefore wrote William that if no New England-bound vessels called at St. Lucia to take on freight he would send "the ship and sloop" back to Piscataqua, but in any event, he promised, "one way or another you won't be long in advance." [9]

The cargoes that William and his brother-in-law shipped to the French islands differed from those which the Pepperrells were sending to Antigua and Barbados, although the difference was not basic. Hugues Grangent of Martinique wrote of receiving the "cattle and other effects" on the three vessels arriving at the islands in 1729. In the following year Grangent's brother at "the Cape," probably Cap François, received an interesting cargo on the brigantine *Jason*

[8] Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies,* p. 259n., lists the signers of the Antigua petition.

[9] Hugues Grangent to Messrs. Pepperrell & Clarke, St. Pierre, Dec. 17, 1729, NEHG MSS., Book I.

consisting of ten thousand bricks, in addition to the usual boards, planks, and tar.[10] Neither bricks nor cattle ever entered into the Pepperrells' trade with the British islands. The part played by the Grangent brothers in the matter of making returns differed also from that of Thomas Kerby and the Pepperrells' correspondents at Barbados. Before coming to Martin Grangent, the *Jason* and apparently another vessel, the sloop *Francis,* had called at Martinique, where they took on ninety-seven empty hogsheads from Hugues Grangent. At "the Cape," Martin Grangent disbursed some 8000 *livres* and paid the masters 2000 *livres* in cash, which undoubtedly went to fill the hogsheads with rum and molasses.[11]

Hugues Grangent's request that Captain Butler be deprived of his command indicates rather clearly that he owned a part share in Butler's vessel. He seems to have also had the responsibility of managing the affairs of the ship and sloop mentioned in his letter of December 17, 1729. Besides Grangent and Benjamin Clarke, several prominent merchants of Portsmouth and New Castle were associated with William, Jr., in this particular trade. Theodore Atkinson, a friend and associate of William's father, and Captain Daniel Warner of Portsmouth together owned a half share in a large brigantine named the *Culver* whose itinerary in 1729 and 1730 took her to Martinique and back by way of Cap François and Boston. Sometimes William chartered a vessel to use in the trade.[12]

A letter from the master of the *Culver,* Walter Oborne, concerning two Boston-owned vessels that were up for charter in the summer of 1729 further reveals that William sometimes shipped to the French islands commodities that should not have gone outside the realm except by way of England. No vessels had arrived at Boston from Martinique since William returned to Kittery, Oborne wrote in August, 1729, "and the ship I spoke to you about," he continued, "cannot take the mast in." [13] Masts, along with pitch and tar and

[10] Account of sales of brigantine *Jason*'s cargo, 1730, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point; also Hugues Grangent's letter to Pepperrell and Clarke, cited in preceding note.

[11] Martin Grangent's account current with Capt. Clarke, Aug. 14, 1730, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point. It is interesting to note Grangent's payments and the use of credit in view of charges made by British planters that North American vessels were selling their cargoes in the British islands for cash and with it purchasing return ladings in the French islands.

[12] Owners of the brigantine *Culver,* account current, 1730, NEHG MSS., Book II.

[13] Capt. Walter Oborne to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, Aug. 11, 1729, HUHL MSS.

other naval stores, had been placed on the enumerated list as early as 1705. In 1725 the enumeration had been permitted to lapse, only to be revived four years later, in 1729. Shipping a mast to Martinique was a direct violation of the law. There is, of course, the possibility that the Act of 1729 had not yet come into effect or that word of its enactment had not reached Piscataqua in August, but in view of William's subsequent derelictions that possibility loses significance. The four barrels of tar, worth perhaps £6 at Piscataqua and selling for 144 *livres* at St. Domingue, which the brigantine *Jason* delivered to Martin Grangent in the summer of 1730 could have brought about the seizure of the vessel.[14] The next year a joint venture with Charles Apthorp of Boston again found William illegally shipping enumerated commodities, apparently to Ireland.

No suggestion that William continued trading with the French sugar islands after 1730 appears in any of the Pepperrell Papers. Benjamin Clarke, his principal associate, died in the latter months of 1729. Four years later the Molasses Act made the legal importation of French rum and molasses an unprofitable business. To bring in a cargo without paying the duties required arranging false clearances in the West Indies, and this was a riskier and more troublesome matter than putting a few barrels of tar on board an outbound vessel at the last minute before sailing. The death of his father, two months after the Molasses Act came into effect, undoubtedly placed an additional burden of responsibility on William.

The undertaking on which he had embarked in company with Apthorp, in the summer of 1731, seems to have been not entirely to William's liking and was probably not repeated. This affair involved two brigantines in which Apthorp, one of the younger Boston merchants, took a half share and which he helped to fit out and load in the way that Benjamin Pemberton had in the case of the brigantine *William*. William loaded about thirty hogsheads of "Jamaica" fish in each vessel, some hoops and probably boards and planks, about two hundred bushels of corn, a hundred bushels of wheat, and some rice and naval stores. "I have met with so much misfortune in this affair," he wrote Apthorp on July 16, "that [I] am not for putting in large cargoes. . . . As to the rice, pitch and tar," he continued, "it must be taken on board the day the vessel

[14] See the account of the sales of the *Jason*'s cargo, cited in note 10 above.

sails otherwise I suppose the vessel is liable to a seizure." And, he concluded, "[I] shall be glad to receive my directions from you . . . for I am unacquainted in the trade." [15] The trade appears to have been the Irish trade, for William warned Apthorp that he did not want his name to appear in the registry certificates, the masters' instructions, or the bills of lading, "because," he wrote, "there is any Irishmen if knew it was our interest might stop it and put us to trouble without any just pretence, as shall inform you when see you [sic]." Thus it would seem that William, although "unacquainted," was by no means a newcomer to the trade; in fact, the brigantine *William,* it will be recalled, had made a voyage to Ireland six years before. William was familiar enough with the trade to know some of its requirements as to the most suitable cargo, but the question was to which of the mercantile houses "there" the vessels should be sent. They were better known in Boston than in Kittery, William wrote, so he left it for Apthorp to decide. All he wanted was to have the vessels go to someone who would "send back all the effects and do us a justice" and who would find a purchaser for one of the brigantines whose sails were in such bad condition that they would never have served to bring her back to Kittery. "If there should not be a market for the *Katherine* we shall be very much disappointed," he told Apthorp, "and our ends in finishing this unhappy affair will be frustrated." [16]

One of the earliest ventures of William, Jr., had been in the North Carolina trade in 1719 when he purchased a quarter share in the *John and Humphrey* for £100 "current money." Following the decline that took place in the late 1720's, the Pepperrells appear to have sent two vessels to North Carolina in 1733, but after the death of his father William seems to have made no great attempt to revive the trade until some time later.[17] During the four or five years immediately after the death of Colonel William, the North Carolina trade dropped out of the picture. The records for these particular years are, to be sure, extremely meager; nevertheless, no

[15] Wm. Pepperrell to Charles Apthorp, July 16, 1731, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[16] Wm. Pepperrell to Charles Apthorp, Aug 20, 1731, HUHL MSS.

[17] Bill of sale, John Dearing to Wm. Pepperrell, Jr., Nov. 28, 1719, NEHG MSS., Book II. Boston clearances for North Carolina reported in the *Boston News-Letter* on Feb. 15, 1733, include a Capt. Samuel Walker and on Nov. 1, 1733, a Capt. Henry Barter, both of whom were Pepperrell shipmasters.

other line of trade followed by the Pepperrells disappeared from sight so completely. Boston's trade with North Carolina fell off during these same years, and in 1736 the townspeople of Boston cited the decline of both the Carolina naval stores trade and the West India trade as reasons for reducing taxes.[18] Except for naval stores, Virginia and Maryland offered an alternative to the North Carolina market, and it may be that the Pepperrells shifted their trade accordingly. In the winter of 1726–1727, when they had no vessel at Carolina, they sent a sloop to Maryland. Late in 1734, after his father's death, William sent a vessel to Virginia, and another one to Maryland four years later.[19] Then in the fall of 1742 he sent two vessels southward, the sloop *Pursue* to Port Roanoke, North Carolina, and the brigantine *Kittery* to Port Oxford, Maryland, with a considerably wider assortment of goods than the cargoes of twenty years before. The *Kittery*'s cargo was consigned to the master, Henry Barter, and consisted of desks, tables, chairs, iron pots, pails, earthenware, English goods, gunpowder and shot, salt, osnaburgs, axes, two pairs of steelyards, a barrel of blubber, a few quintals of dried cod, and the ever-present rum, molasses, and sugar. Both vessels returned to Piscataqua the following spring with country produce, with tobacco from Maryland and naval stores, deerskins, and rice from Carolina. The next year the *Pursue* again went to North Carolina and called at Port Hampton, Virginia, on her way home, and then for the next three years one of William's schooners made an annual voyage to Port Roanoke.[20]

The Newfoundland trade had dropped off during the preceding decade, but by 1734 it had picked up again. In the spring of that year, two schooners belonging to William went to Newfoundland laden with fish, naval stores, and tobacco, which were to be exchanged particularly for "silver and gold . . . and bills of exchange." Newfoundland's status under the Acts of Trade and the method of satisfying the requirements of the Act of 1696 with respect to plantation bonds appear from William's instructions to

[18] Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[19] John Newbold to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, July 28, 1727, NEHG MSS., Book I; *Boston News-Letter,* Dec. 19, 1734; Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Kerby, March 1, 1741, Maine State Library MS. Colls., Augusta, Me., Pepperrell docs.

[20] Bill of lading, brigantine *Kittery,* Oct. 25, 1742, NEHG MSS., Book II; Naval Office Records, Port New Hampshire, 1742–1747, University of California transcripts.

the master of one of the vessels, his nephew Pelletiah Whittemore. He directed Whittemore to "be sure to bring a certificate from some Lord of the harbor to cancel your bond given here for pitch, tar and tobacco." If Whittemore sold his vessel, he was to take his crew on board the other schooner, the *Reserved,* and return to Kittery with what fish he could catch on the way. Both vessels could be sold, continued William, if "you can meet with a good price for the *Reserved* and likewise get a passage home here for yourself and men." [21] Newfoundland was an important market for the sale of New England-owned vessels, and obviously some of the many passengers carried away from the island must have been masters and men of vessels sold there. That this was so, however, has escaped the historians of the Newfoundland trade, who have based their analyses of the traffic in passengers upon the complaints of English officials.[22] Two years later, in 1736, the sloop *Success* took a cargo to Newfoundland that was, like the cargoes for the southern colonies, even more diversified than those of fifteen years or so earlier. A conspicuous change was the reduced quantity of West India goods, for the *Success* carried only 32 gallons of molasses and 546 pounds of sugar and not even a pint of rum.[23] The assumption would be that William's trade with the West Indies had either fallen off or somehow changed its course. This was indeed the case as far as Antigua was concerned.

For a few years during the early thirties the sugar trade from Antigua to London continued to be attractive, but William's dependable correspondent, Thomas Kerby, at last managed to get away and the Pepperrell account promptly went into the doldrums. In 1735 the *Prosperous* sailed the sugar triangle, to the Leeward Islands and London. A year or so later the ship *Eagle*—not the *Eagle* that had been in the Antigua trade five years before, but a new vessel of about 180 tons making her maiden voyage—set out on what was intended to be a voyage similar to that of the *Prosperous,* but instead of going on to London the *Eagle* returned to Kittery directly from Antigua. In December, 1737, a few months after the

21 Wm. Pepperrell to Pelletiah Whittemore, May 25, 1734, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point.

22 Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland,* pp. 259–260; Innis, *op. cit.,* pp. 104, 106, 147.

23 Account of sales, sloop *Success,* Aug., 1736, HUHL MSS.

vessel returned, William sent the *Eagle* back to Antigua and instructed Captain More to proceed to St. Martin or Anguilla to load salt for Kittery if a "full freight" for England could not be obtained. As he had "some encouragement" from Antigua, however, he wrote to Silas Hooper in London and asked him to obtain £600 sterling insurance for the complete voyage to England. His intention was to have the ship sold when she arrived in London, William continued. She was, he assured Hooper, "a well-built, strong vessel, well iron'd with Spanish iron . . . but inasmuch as I have more vessels a-building I would have you to sell her [even] if she won't fetch full value." [24]

By this time Kerby had gone back to England, leaving his affairs and William Pepperrell's account in the hands of his son.[25] But the younger Kerby did not prove to be as satisfactory a correspondent as the father. Contrary to William's desire the *Eagle* lay at Antigua several months awaiting freight for London, and much to his misfortune she foundered somewhere at sea on her voyage across the Atlantic. Young Kerby, he seemed to feel, was responsible for delaying the vessel. Later in 1738 William sent the brigantine *Andrew and Elizabeth* to Maryland to load corn and wheat for Madeira; but finding no grain available when he arrived, Captain Oram had to take on a load of lumber which he carried to Antigua and turned over to young Kerby. This voyage, asserted William, "has lost me upwards of £1000." [26]

A year or two later the ship *Prosperous* called at Antigua "from the Cape Levards [Verdes?]" in an unsuccessful effort to obtain the balance due William from the sale of his previous cargoes. Although Kerby had a parcel of salt on the *Prosperous,* William Pepperrell's trade with Antigua had to all intents and purposes come to an end

[24] Wm. Pepperrell to Silas Hooper, Dec. 6, 1737, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XIX (1865), 145–148.

[25] Kerby's departure at this time may have had some connection with the fact that one of his slaves was the ringleader of the conspiracy of 1736, which threw Antigua into such fear of a general uprising that a total of forty-seven slaves were brutally executed. More would have been put to death, it is claimed, had it not been for the heavy public expense of reimbursing the owners.

[26] Wm. Pepperrell to Francisco Luis de Vasconcellos, Oct. 12, 1738, MHS MSS.; account current with Silas Hooper, Jan. 31, 1739, NEHG MSS., Book II; Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Kerby, March 1, 1741, Maine State Library MS. Colls., Augusta, Me., Pepperrell docs.

with the dismal voyage of the *Andrew and Elizabeth*. The *Prosperous* was the last Pepperrell vessel at Antigua for more than a decade. William had received no statement of the sales of any of his goods and had not the slightest idea how his account stood when late in 1740 or thereabouts young Kerby died. William then wrote to Thomas Kerby in London, reviewed the situation, and told him that he had no intention of sending anything to Antigua until the senior Kerby returned or until he learned of "some gentleman" there in whom he could "confide." A year or two later when he found that it was Kerby's desire to "tarry" in England, he wrote again, importunately, but with cordiality, to see if his account could not be settled. "You formerly wrote me that I should be no sufferer in the aforesaid affairs and what I sent to Antigua was to yourself and him," William reminded Kerby; "but why should I use arguments with you who have been as a Father and one of my best friends" he continued. "It will be a great pleasure to me to hear of your health and prosperity and," he concluded, "as long as we live shall be asking favors of you." [27] The balance outstanding in William's favor remained at £75 15*s.* 9¼*d.*, Antigua currency, until December, 1746, when he ordered a hogshead and three tierces of rum to be sent to William Tyler in Boston. The rum cost £76 10*s.* 7½*d.*, and William Pepperrell was now charged with a debit of 14*s.* 10¼*d.*, which in Massachusetts currency amounted to £2 19*s.* 5*d.* The following summer, after the balance had thus shifted to Kerby's favor, the account was settled.[28]

During the mid-thirties, at about the time Thomas Kerby went to England, William Pepperrell's Barbados trade likewise changed hands; but the changeover was less troublesome and less consequential than in the case of Antigua. The new correspondent in Barbados, William Nichols, seems to have managed the account well, with only an occasional disagreement. In 1735 William's sloop *Union,* John More, master, arrived at the island with a sizable cargo of fish and lumber, including six spars. The next year William again sent the *Union* to Barbados and also the sloop *Seaflower,* whose

[27] Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Kerby, March 1, 1741, and Pepperrell to Kerby, Jan. 20, 1742 [1743?], Maine State Library MS. Colls., Augusta, Me., Pepperrell docs.

[28] Account with Thomas Kerby, Antigua, 1747, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point. The balance has been converted into Massachusetts currency according to the rate given in one item of the account.

master, Robert Oram, commanded Pepperrell vessels for the next twenty years. The *Seaflower,* after discharging her cargo, went on to Curaçao.[29] Shortly afterward England and Spain began drifting into war. The outbreak of hostilities perhaps contributed to putting an end to William's Antigua trade; the adverse effect, if any, upon his Barbados trade was slight. In 1739 William Nichols received two, possibly three, cargoes from William. In 1740, when there was a scarcity of shipping in the West Indies, William had three vessels at Barbados, as many as the Pepperrells had ever sent in any one year. The brigantine *Andrew and Elizabeth* discharged a cargo in February and then went on to Salt Tortuga. In March the *Prosperous* arrived with wines from Madeira. In July the *Andrew and Elizabeth* was back at Barbados taking on a shipment of rum, sugar, and cotton and a parcel of limestone for ballast. The net proceeds of the four cargoes which Nichols received between November, 1739, and July, 1740, amounted to £1186 2*s.* 2*d.*[30]

The shortage of ships was reflected in the low price of the rum loaded on board the *Andrew and Elizabeth* in July. It cost William only thirteen pence per gallon.[31] A year later the price had risen. Lord Cathcart's expedition, late in 1740, raised the price of rum all through the West Indies, and in Barbados it was so high, according to the Governor, that North American traders were selling their cargoes for cash and puchasing their return ladings in the Dutch or French colonies.[32] In mid-summer of 1741 when the *Andrew and Elizabeth* returned to Barbados with a cargo of lumber and fish,

[29] Naval Office Records, Barbados, 1735, 1736, University of California transcripts.

[30] Wm. Pepperrell's account current with Wm. Nichols, Barbados, Aug. 5, 1741, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point.

[31] Invoice dated Barbados, July 10, 1740, NEHG MSS., Book I. Prices paid or quoted in other years were as follows:

BARBADOS		ANTIGUA	
Dec., 1714–16*d.*	Fall, 1725–24*d.*	May, 1725–15*d.*, "and rising"	March, 1728–16*d.*
Aug., 1716–24*d.*	Aug., 1732–18*d.*	July, 1725–16*d.*	March, 1729–18*d.*
Sept., 1722–14*d.*	June, 1735–12*d.*	Sept., 1725–24*d.*	May, 1731–18*d.* and 19*d.*
March, 1724–17*d.*	March, 1742–29*d.*	Oct., 1725–18*d.* and 20*d.*	Feb., 1733–16*d.*, "and falling"
Aug., 1724–16*d.*		March, 1726–22*d.*	July, 1747–39*d.*
		Feb., 1728–15*d.* or 16*d.*	

[32] Pares, *op. cit.,* pp. 471–472, 490–491, 501n.

after calling at the island earlier in the year en route to Salt Tortuga, William Nichols referred to the state of the market as though it mirrored only the ordinary seasonal fluctuations. When the vessel arrived, the price of lumber was, he wrote to William Pepperrell, "very ordinary," and the price of the goods he shipped to William was high. But, he continued, "if you had sent the brigantine a few weeks sooner [she] would have come to a better market and found rum something lower." [33] To William Pepperrell this seemed to indicate that Nichols did not have the interests of his correspondents entirely at heart, and in addition he was annoyed at Nichols' failure to obtain any information concerning the still-outstanding accounts of Benjamin Clarke and the brigantine *William,* which had been sold in Boston some years since. Consequently he wrote to Nichols that "for the future when you have money in your hands of mine and you look for a vessel from me, lay it out when you think rum is at the cheapest," and he went on to emphasize the obvious—"had you lay'd it out then it would have made a greater advantage to me than to purchase rum at the dearest rate." [34] He gave no impression of being aware of any exceptional factors that might have affected the market. Possibly Nichols hoped that William could be prevailed upon to accept a sugar cargo for London and feared that if he informed him of the exact situation William would suspend his Barbados sailings.

The London sugar trade was hard hit by the scarcity of shipping. In the summer of 1741 the "trading ships" regularly employed were five or six vessels short of the number needed to carry away the Barbados crop, and the *Andrew and Elizabeth* could easily have got freight for London at four shillings sixpence per hundredweight.[35] There was a scarcity of bills of exchange on London. When William wrote Nichols to remit £60 sterling to John Thomlinson, a London merchant, "in a good bill of exchange," Nichols was unable to do it. Instead he wrote one of his own London correspondents to pay Thomlinson £50 on William's account.[36]

[33] Wm. Nichols to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, Aug. 5, 1741, New York Public Library MS. Colls., Miscellaneous Papers.

[34] Wm. Pepperrell to Wm. Nichols, Oct. 30, 1741, *ibid.*

[35] Wm. Nichols to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, Aug. 17, 1741, and Nichols to Pepperrell, Aug. 5, 1741, *ibid.*

[36] Wm. Nichols to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, March 20, 1742, MHS MSS.

Remittances of one sort or another trickled into William's London accounts from several sources. Some of the largest bills of exchange came from Newfoundland, and when sterling bills were scarce, William could fall back on the profits of his trade with Spain and Portugal. In the summer of 1737 his balance with one of the mercantile houses at Cadiz stood at "upwards of one hundred dollars" (about £22 10*s.* sterling); in the hands of another firm there were the remaining proceeds of a small cargo landed by Captain Oram some time before; and in Lisbon, William still had some money coming to him from the sale of lumber to the Portuguese government.[37] It was a good time, he thought, to reinvigorate his trade in this direction. In July, 1737, he wrote to a firm in Bilbao that he was considering sending a vessel there, and later in the year he informed one of the Lisbon houses that he had "a great mind to make another trial on the timber trade . . . with some fish." [38] He instructed the Lisbon firm and both of his correspondents at Cadiz to remit whatever he had to his credit to Silas Hooper in London. William may have done as he proposed—the records for the next two or three years are scanty—but then Captain Jenkins' ear brought war with Spain. To push a trade with Spain and Portugal at this time would be tempting the fates rather far. Yet in the spring of 1742 he sent the brigantine *Kittery* to Fayal and Madeira; and the following year, after making a round trip to Maryland, the *Kittery* went to Newfoundland and then on to Lisbon for a cargo of salt. For the next six or seven years William kept his vessels nearer home.[39]

Some of the cordage, cod lines, and English goods that the Pepperrells had formerly purchased from Boston merchants William was now importing himself, although most of the shipments were still landed at Boston where they were received by William Tyler and forwarded to Piscataqua on one of the coasting sloops. From

[37] Wm. Pepperrell to Messrs. Wm. Jacks and Co., July 12, 1739, and Wm. Pepperrell to Christopher Hake and Co. [of Lisbon], Dec. 27, 1737, HUHL MSS.

[38] Wm. Pepperrell to Dominique Recacechau [of Bilbao], July 30, 1737, J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point.

[39] Naval Office Records, Port New Hampshire, exports and imports, 1742–1750, University of California transcripts. The biggest gap during these nine years is in the records for 1749, which lack export data for the whole year and import data for the third quarter.

August, 1734, to the end of 1736 the shipments from Silas Hooper averaged somewhat less than £346 5*s*. in value each year, and in addition Hooper paid out to Thomlinson a total of £114 in cash, presumably for goods shipped by the latter. In 1738 William received only one shipment from Hooper, but it was a large one amounting to £459 4*s*. Such merchandise as "fine, black, men's hose," printed calicoes, chintz, and cambric point to increasingly luxurious tastes.[40]

The demands of his own household were growing. In the fall of 1741 William placed an especially important order with Francis Wilks, who along with his official duties as the province agent at London also acted as factor for Thomas Hancock and other New England merchants. He sent Wilks twenty ounces of gold and asked him to ship an assortment of silks: white paduasoy, "flowered with all sorts of colors suitable for a young woman," green paduasoy, and white "watered tabby" with gold lace for trimming. He wanted a "handsome fan, with leather mounting, as good as can be bought for about twenty shillings"; thirteen yards of lace "for a woman's headdress"; and two pairs of silk shoes with "clogs a size bigger than the shoes." [41] This was the bridal outfit of William's daughter, Elizabeth.

As a young man, twenty years before, William Pepperrell had become acquainted with the daughter of one of Boston's eminently respectable families. The young lady's father, Grove Hirst, was an affluent merchant; her mother was a daughter of Judge Samuel Sewall. William found Mary Hirst the most agreeable "proper Bostonian" of his acquaintance, and to the dismay of her cousin, a son of the redoubtable Parson Moody of York, who was quite "bewildered" by Mary's attractions, William was soon paying court to her. He won her consent, and on a certain winter's evening in February, 1723, they were married by Judge Sewall.[42] Their first

[40] Account current with Silas Hooper, London, Feb. 12, 1737, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point; account current, Jan. 31, 1739, NEHG MSS., Book II; Silas Hooper to Wm. Pepperrell, London, May 19, 1739, with invoice of same date, and Wm. Pepperrell's account with Joseph Jackson, 1736–1740, HUHL MSS.

[41] Brewster, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 186.

[42] Introduction to Samuel Sewall's "Diary," Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* Ser. 5, V, xxxvi–xxxvii; Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 26. Parsons gives March 16 as the date of William's marriage, but February 21, as the Sewall "Diary" has it, is more likely correct.

child, a daughter whom they named for her grandmother Elizabeth Hirst, was born the following December; and now, seventeen years later, in the fall of 1741, William and Mary Pepperrell were making preparations for their daughter's marriage to a young Portsmouth merchant, Nathaniel Sparhawk.

Sparhawk, a newcomer to Piscataqua and only recently established as a merchant, had good connections, plenty of ambition, and many varied schemes for making a success of himself. His stepfather, Jonathan Waldo, had seen to it that he received training in a Boston countinghouse; and in 1735 or thereabouts Nathaniel formed a partnership with another young man, Benjamin Colman, a nephew and namesake of the distinguished Brattle Street minister. With the help and encouragement of Samuel Waldo and Benjamin Pemberton, both friends of William Pepperrell, the two partners started out by acting as factors for several English and West Indies merchants, under terms that permitted them to ship a part of the cargoes on their own account. Waldo, a mast agent, steered several contracts in their direction, and it was their mast trade which seems to have first brought Sparhawk to Portsmouth.[43]

After Nathaniel's marriage to Elizabeth Pepperrell in May, 1742, William turned over some of the details of his business to his new son-in-law. It would be another year or two before William's son Andrew completed his studies at Harvard, and in the meantime someone was needed at Kittery to help negotiate the sale of fish to Boston and Portsmouth merchants, to bargain with them for what they had to sell, and to look after the cider and rum in William's warehouses. Such matters as these were handled by Nathaniel when William had to be away on public business.[44]

The arrangement was one of convenience for William and of profit to Nathaniel Sparhawk and his partner Benjamin Colman. As one of the leading merchants of the province William Pepperrell was able to purchase goods on more favorable terms than those offered to lesser figures. He was, for example, buying large quan-

[43] Samuel Waldo to Nathaniel Sparhawk, London, Sept. 4, 1738, Warner-MacPhaedris House, Portsmouth, N.H., MacPhaedris Papers; Nathaniel Sparhawk to Benjamin Colman, Portsmouth, Nov. 12, 1738, *ibid.;* H. S. Burrage, "Col. Nathaniel Sparhawk of Kittery," Maine Historical Society *Collections,* Ser. 2, IX, 226–227.

[44] Nathaniel Sparhawk to Wm. Pepperrell, Kittery, Dec. 23, 1742, Boston Public Library, Chamberlain Coll., No. E-11-41.

tities of New England rum at this time, and one distiller, having sold him seven hogsheads, wrote: "tho' the price of rum was six shillings sixpence I charge but six shillings fourpence because I expect that when you want any more rum or should have any molasses to distill (or sell) you will give me the preference." [45] When Nathaniel Sparhawk handled the arrangements in William's name and the latter decided not to make the purchase, Nathaniel could complete the transaction for himself and Colman on better terms than he undoubtedly could have obtained otherwise.[46] As for William, the increasing pressure of his public duties as commander of the militia and member of His Majesty's Council for Massachusetts would have been extremely onerous if Nathaniel had not shouldered some of the burden of his mercantile affairs.

William did not entirely neglect his private affairs, however. In spite of his official responsibilities, he found time to maintain his trade with the southern colonies, with Newfoundland, and with the West Indies. He continued to order goods from England. Although some of the tedious details were taken care of by Nathaniel Sparhawk, the entire management and direction of affairs rested on William alone until sometime in 1744, when his son Andrew entered the business as a partner.[47] But by then events were moving, if not rapidly at least relentlessly, toward the climax of his career.

[45] Thomas Jenness to Wm. Pepperrell, Charlestown, Feb. 24, 1741, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point; Wm. Tyler to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, Oct. 29, 1744, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[46] Nathaniel Sparhawk to Wm. Pepperrell, Dec. 23, 1742, cited in note 44 above.

[47] Wm. Pepperrell to Wm. Nichols, Dec. 8, 1743, J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point; invoice of "sundry cordage," John Thomlinson, London, March 10, 1744, Portsmouth Athenaeum MS. Coll., Portsmouth, N.H.; Henry [surname illegible] to Wm. Pepperrell, *Experiment,* June 12, 1744, MHS MSS. The writer was captain of a naval vessel about to sail on escort duty from Piscataqua to Jamaica. See also Parsons, *op. cit.,* p. 40.

⚓ CHAPTER VII

Ships and the Men Who Sailed Them

⚓ MODERN specialization has evolved a number of distinctive ship types differing from each other in the design and outward appearance of hull and superstructure. Each type has its own special function. In the colonial period, however, vessels were not constructed to meet the requirements of a particular trade.[1] Instead, they were designed to give maximum carrying capacity regardless of cargo, and the result was a striking resemblance to floating hogsheads. Larger vessels, of seventy or eighty tons and upward, were built with low 'tween-decks, and the smaller, single-deck vessels were sometimes fitted with a temporary "platform" underdeck on which livestock, for example, were carried with greater protection.[2] But neither arrangement of deck space altered the basic, barrel-shaped design.[3]

Perhaps at the beginning of his career the elder Pepperrell built his vessels in the shipyard of his father-in-law, John Bray, but from the 1690's on the Pepperrells concentrated on trade. They acquired their vessels through purchase or had them built on contract by one of the local shipwrights. Buying a vessel usually involved only the purchase of a part share. In November, 1719, William Pepperrell, Jr., bought a quarter share of the fifty-seven-ton sloop *John and Humphrey* from Captain John Dearing, later master of the

[1] One exception may be noted; namely, the ships specially built for the Piscataqua mast trade (Albion, *Forests and Sea Power,* pp. 237–238).

[2] Nathaniel Sparhawk to Andrew Pepperrell, Boston, Dec. 16, 1745, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XIX (1865), 224–225.

[3] The best discussion of colonial shipping is H. I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York, 1946), chap. i.

brigantine *Industry,* for £100 "current money." Two years afterward, when the Pepperrells were using the sloop in the Newfoundland trade, William and his father owned three-quarters of the vessel and Dearing one-quarter.[4] This was probably a typical transaction. Sometimes a vessel was laid down by a builder on speculation, but most of the new vessels acquired by the Pepperrells appear to have been built under contract. Several of them during the 1720's and early thirties were the work of Ebenezer More, builder of the *John and Humphrey,* and twenty years or so later a namesake of Captain Dearing built vessels for William, Jr., in Biddeford, where the Pepperrells owned considerable timberland. Although Dearing seems to have made use of fresh-hewn lumber as a matter of course, his letters reveal an appreciation of high-quality materials and a pride in good workmanship.[5]

The dimensions of a medium-sized brigantine that Ebenezer More contracted to build for the Pepperrells in December, 1732, were: "48 feet keel, 12 feet rake, 18 feet beam full, 8 feet 3 inches hold, 3 feet 3 inches under the beam between decks." [6] The figures indicate a well-proportioned vessel, with a fairly good rake to bow and stern, longer in relation to her beam than other colonial vessels of her size, and from seventy-five to eighty tons burden.[7] It was to be built of "sound white oak" with decks of "good white pine."

If the brigantine were launched by June 20, six months after the signing of the contract, More was to receive £350. Nothing was said in the contract concerning ironwork and certain other essentials, the cost of which appears to have been in addition to the builder's price. A blacksmith's bill for fashioning the rudder irons, chain plates, and other ironwork for a schooner in 1756 came to approximately £140. "Block work," which included making the pumps and shaping pulley blocks and their *lignum vitae* sheaves,

[4] Bill of sale, sloop *John and Humphrey,* Nov. 28, 1719, NEHG MSS., Book II; Wm. Pepperrell to John More, July 25, 1721, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[5] John Dearing to Andrew Pepperrell, Esq., Biddeford, Oct. 3, 1749, NEHG MSS., Book I; John Dearing to Sir Wm. Pepperrell, Biddeford, March 2, 1756, *ibid.*

[6] Ebenezer More's contract for a brigantine, Dec., 1732, *ibid.*

[7] The dimensions of the American-built schooner *Halifax* were: 58′ 3″ length on deck, 46′ 10½″ length of keel, 18′3″ beam extreme, 18′ beam moulded, 8′10″ depth of hold, burden 83 tons. Built about 1765, the *Halifax* was later acquired by the Royal Navy and participated in the burning of Falmouth, Me., in 1775 (Chapelle, *op. cit.,* pp. 33–35).

apparently for the same schooner, cost a little over £60.[8] If the brigantine were to have a figurehead, as some of the Pepperrell vessels seem to have had, that would be another added expense. In 1720 Thomas More, the Portsmouth wood carver, charged the younger William Pepperrell £5 5*s*. for carving "a lion 7½ feet long" at fourteen shillings a foot.[9] The brigantine would need a boat; and a new eighteen-and-a-half-foot longboat, built for the *Culver* in 1730, cost something over £25.[10] Thus the cost of the brigantine exclusive of sails and rigging probably came close to £450, Massachusetts currency. If such items as the ironwork were not customarily included in the builder's contract, then our ideas concerning the low cost of colonial-built shipping probably need revision.[11]

As a particular type of vessel the brigantine was popular with the Pepperrells. Of the twenty-five Pepperrell vessels listed in the Piscataqua naval office records from 1742 to 1754, seven were brigantines, seven were schooners, and eight were sloops. The other three were snows. Twenty years earlier during the decade ending in 1734, the Pepperrells had operated ten brigantines, nine sloops, seven schooners, and one snow and at least eight other vessels of unidentified rig. What constituted a brigantine at that time is an open question. The *William,* a brigantine, carried a topgallant sail as well as a topsail on her mainmast, a rig almost identical with that of a brig. The largest brigantine that appears in the Pepperrell papers was the 110-ton vessel that Colonel William offered for sale in 1725, but this was probably an unusually large one. The brigantines listed in the 1742–1754 naval office records ranged from 45 to 90 tons. The three snows were listed as 80, 90, and 120 tons burden. There was no difference in size between the schooners and sloops; both ranged from 30 to 60 tons. The ship *Eagle* that foundered in 1738 was 180 tons burden and the largest of all the vessels mentioned in the records.[12]

[8] John Kingsbury's bill for "working the iron for the Schooner," April–Aug., 1756, New York Public Library MS. Colls., Dennett Papers; Daniel Jackson's account, April, 1756–Dec., 1757, NEHG MSS., Book I. Both accounts were apparently in "Old Tenor."

[9] Thomas More's bill, Portsmouth, 1720, MHS MSS., Book I.

[10] Francis Winkley's bill, Portsmouth, Jan. 14, 1730, NEHG MSS., Book I.

[11] Further evidence that it was not the practice for the builder to "find" the ironwork at least is in George Vaughan to Richard King, Portsmouth, Aug. 9, 1722, Boston Public Library MS. Colls., No. B-12-144.

[12] See Chapelle., *op. cit.,* pp. 11–12; also Benjamin Pemberton to Wm. Pepperrell,

With their gaily painted topsides and bright trim these sloops and schooners and brigantines must have made a colorful picture in the harbor at Piscataqua. Red, black and white, and yellow, probably for a trim, decorated the brigantine *William*'s hull and gunwales.[13] In contrast, a nineteenth-century sailing ship, for all its graceful lines, would have been an ugly duckling.

Four or five men in addition to the master were all that were needed to manage a brigantine the size of the *William*. On the schooner *Nonesuch,* forecastle and quarterdeck were, in numbers, evenly divided. Colonel Pepperrell's grandson, Pelletiah Whittemore, was master. His mate was a William Phillips who seems to have been a nephew of Colonel Pepperrell; and Phillips' younger brother, Andrew, was one of the two foremast hands. It should not have been difficult for Whittemore to "keep a good decorum amongst the men," as the colonel's instructions sometimes ran. On the other hand, Benjamin Clarke's ship *Kingston,* in which William Pepperrell, Jr., had an interest, carried nine "sailors," a boatswain, a carpenter and a cooper, two mates, and a surgeon. Captain Clarke's seven- or eight-year-old son was ship's boy. A rather interesting point is that a cooper was also shipped on board the brigantine *Culver,* which, like the *Kingston,* was employed in trading with the French West Indies; whereas none was required in the vessels that traded with Barbados.[14]

Such specialists as the carpenter, cooper, and boatswain received higher wages than the seamen. On the *Kingston* the carpenter and cooper each received £6 per month, and the boatswain £5 5*s*. The wages of the cooper on the *Culver* were £5 per month. Seamen's wages on the *Culver* varied: one of them, "Negro James," received £3; three others received £3 10*s*., one took in £4 per month, and another £4 5*s*. Wages on board the *Kingston,* a larger vessel, were

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Jr., Boston, Sept. 8, 1728, Wildes Papers (in possession of J. W. P. Frost, Kittery Point); and Andrew Pepperrell's account with Edmund Moody [undated], HUHL MSS.

[13] The *William*'s disbursements at Barbados in 1725 included 24 pounds of white paint, 11 pounds of red paint, 6 pounds of yellow, and 12 barrels of lampblack, MHS MSS., Book II.

[14] Portlidge bill for the brigantine *William,* 1726, MeHS MSS., Book I; *William*'s portlidge bill, 1731, NEHG MSS., Book I; *Kingston*'s portlidge bill, [undated], *ibid.,* Book II; *Culver*'s portlidge bill, 1729–1730, *ibid.* schooner *Nonesuch,* portlidge bill, 1732, J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point.

somewhat higher: seven of the nine seamen were paid £4 10*s.* per month, and the other two received £4. During the twenty years following Queen Anne's War wages slowly rose. The £4 per month received by the two-man crews of the *Nonesuch* and *Scarborough* in 1732 was nearly double the wage of the *Olive*'s two seamen in 1715; but the increase was gradual and almost imperceptible. In 1726 the three foremast hands of the brigantine *William* received £3 10*s.*, £3 15*s.*, and £4 per month respectively. Five years later the same vessel's "portlidge bill" listed wages of £3 15*s.* for one "sailor," £4 for two others, and £4 10*s.* for the remaining member of the crew.[15]

Many, perhaps most, of the seamen came from Kittery homes; others, like James Arculess, foremast hand in the *Charming Molly,* and Samuel Tucker of the brigantine *Kittery,* were recruited from among the seafaring population of the Isles of Shoals. Sometimes the master of a Pepperrell vessel bound for Newfoundland was instructed to be on the lookout for "a likely boy or two fit to go to sea that are willing to be bound apprentice." [16] And Kittery youths who had their fill of tending shop and measuring suiting sometimes exchanged masters and the humdrum life of a tailor's apprentice for service with the Pepperrells. Portlidge bills did not distinguish between an able seaman, an ordinary seaman, and an apprentice, but these ratings were undoubtedly reflected by the three different wage scales generally encountered. Apprentices, and apparently Negro slaves, did not receive their full wage, however. Any necessary and unavoidable expenses they incurred in the course of a voyage were taken care of by the captain and entered in the vessel's accounts as payments advanced. The remainder of their wages were credited to their master, either Colonel Pepperrell or William, Jr.[17]

Although seamen's wages in general were probably better than those paid to workingmen alongshore and although many of the seamen manning the vessels of Colonel William and his son came

[15] Portlidge bill of the schooner *Scarborough,* 1731–1732, Wildes Papers, Kittery Point; Capt. John Vennard's account, 1715, NEHG MSS., Book I; see also the references cited in note 14 above.

[16] Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Foxal Curtis, Aug. 13, 1717, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[17] Indenture of Nathaniel Crockett of Kittery, Jan. 24, 1709–July 10, 1716, MeHS MSS., Book II; Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Edward Clampitt, July 3, 1718, *ibid.;* account of disbursements, barque *Mary,* Barbados, 1697, NEHG MSS., Book I.

from homes within the neighborhood, the Pepperrells could not avoid occasional labor trouble. The practice of advancing a part of the men's pay, of making numerous deductions from their wages, and of diverting vessels from their intended voyages made for wage disputes. Protracted stays in ports of call encouraged and facilitated desertion.

The amount of wages advanced to seamen varied. One of the *Culver*'s crew received during his ten months' employment only £6 in advance wages, the equivalent in his case of one and a half month's pay; and another seaman, who twenty years later had risen to be master of the sloop *Speedwell,* received only £8 4*s*. advance wages during almost eleven months on board the vessel. On the other hand, a third member of the crew during his ten months' service received some £16 8*s*., in advance, which in his case represented almost five months' pay. But the danger of the practice was demonstrated by one Robert Thomas, who collected five months' pay in four months and a half and then jumped ship (or "ran," as a more sedate age called it).[18]

The custom of advancing wages at the time a seaman shipped on board a vessel could cause difficulty at the commencement of a voyage if the sailing were delayed. A schooner of William Pepperrell's, about to sail for the West Indies in June, 1744, under escort of H.M.S. *Experiment,* was delayed several days until a heavily laden storeship could be brought down the harbor; in the meantime several of the schooner's crew, whose unwillingness to sail had been no doubt increased by the news that hostilities with France had begun, had to be confined on the *Experiment*. The crew of the schooner "are such sad dogs that they run away," wrote the captain of the *Experiment* to William, who was at a council meeting in Boston. "Andrew [William's son] put two of them aboard me yesterday to secure them, [and I] have lent two others. I shall take particular care of them" continued the captain.[19] But such help was not always at hand, and the Pepperrells' best recourse, therefore, was to hire their crews at the last possible moment before a vessel sailed.

At the end of a voyage each seaman "reckoned" his account with

[18] *Culver*'s portlidge bill, cited in note 14 above.

[19] Henry [surname illegible] to [Wm. Pepperrell], *Experiment,* June 12, 1744, MHS MSS.

the master, "from the beginning of the world unto this day," and received whatever was due him after his advance wages and various deductions were charged against him. If a sailor needed a pair of shoes or the services of a doctor, the fact always found its way into his wage account. In the West Indies trade the seamen took a part of their pay in rum and sugar when they reached the islands. All seamen, except on fishing and coasting vessels, were required by Parliament to pay sixpence per month to the support of Greenwich Hospital, then the English home for disabled seamen.[20] Like many colonial shipmasters, Captain Kennard of the *Scarborough* found it difficult to remember his crew's hospital money, but he did not forget to charge one of the men for the loss of an "old hogshead sling." The hospital money was probably deducted, however, for written at the bottom of the *Scarborough*'s portlidge bill in William Pepperrell's hand is the memorandum: "Mind Gren Edge Hospital." Both Captain Clarke of the *Kingston* and Captain King of the brigantine *William* were careful to deduct the payment from their men's wages. One of the crew of the *William,* who shipped aboard at Barbados for the return voyage, found as a result of advance wages and other charges that upon his discharge at Kittery he had only ten shillings sixpence coming to him out of wages amounting to £7.[21]

The Pepperrells sought to protect themselves by having seamen sign an agreement authorizing such deductions from their wages, but disputes were inevitable. As early as 1695 one John Prattling brought suit against the master of the barque *Mary* for wages that he claimed were due him, and he won his case. Another "vile fellow," as one of the Pepperrells spoke of him, who was apparently a seaman on the snow *Mary,* went to court with a similar controversy almost thirty-five years later.[22]

In later days the shipping articles signed by crews at the begin-

[20] Allyn B. Forbes, "Greenwich Hospital Money," *New England Quarterly,* III (1930), 519–520.

[21] Portlidge bills previously cited and also Jonas Jewell's account with George King, Kittery, April 29, 1726, MeHS MSS.

[22] Benjamin and Joseph Hole to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, June 28, 1695, NEHG MSS., Book I; Wm. Pepperrell to Charles Lewen, Dec. 29, 1729, MeHS MSS., Book II. This whole question of maritime labor relations during the colonial period is given excellent treatment in R. B. Morris, *op. cit.,* chap. v.

ning of a voyage set forth the wages of each seaman and made provision for advance payments. Seamen employed by the Pepperrells may have signed articles. Some sort of contract was indeed entered into in which the destination and nature of the voyage were made known; but it might have been an oral, informal agreement. Whatever form the contract may have taken, the men were prompt to challenge any deviation from the terms under which they had shipped. The *Andrew and Elizabeth* in 1741 could have loaded a cargo of sugars at Barbados for London, but Captain Oram "could not prevail with his people to go the voyage and no others could be got but at an extravagant rate." [23] Captain Edward Clampitt had a more vexing experience, however, with the crew of the *Bonetta.*

The *Bonetta* set sail for Barbados early in the spring of 1718.[24] Colonel Pepperrell expected the vessel to make the usual round-trip voyage, from Piscataqua to Barbados and return, and apparently shipped a crew for a voyage of this nature; but Henry Hole, his Barbados correspondent and a part owner of the *Bonetta,* had some thoughts of selling the vessel at Barbados. On his arrival on March 12, Captain Clampitt discovered that he was liable to be there for a long time, since his cargo was to be "retailed out." He was not overly pleased at the prospect, nor was the crew. Four days after the *Bonetta* arrived, one of the seamen left; within two weeks another had "run." [25] On the night of April 5 a third seaman took "the canoe" to go on board a Bristol ship and nothing was seen of him afterward. Captain Clampitt thought that he might have drowned and the canoe gone out to sea.[26] Late in May the captain sent Colonel Pepperrell a very depressed letter. He had been waiting two months, he wrote, while Hole tried to sell the *Bonetta,* until the gentleman who was to buy it took sick and went to Bermuda "for a change of air." If only Colonel Pepperrell's orders had been "a little more intelligible," he wished; for Hole was now putting

[23] Wm. Nichols to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, Aug. 5, 1741, New York Public Library MS. Colls., Miscellaneous Papers.

[24] Capt. Clampitt's experiences as master of the *Bonetta* are described more fully in the author's article "A Sea of Troubles: The Voyage of *Bonetta,* 1718," *American Neptune,* IX (April, 1949), 133–141.

[25] Capt. Edward Clampitt to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, March 18, 1718, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[26] Edward Clampitt to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, May 25, 1718, *ibid.,* Book I.

on board a cargo for London without letting him know to whom it was consigned or what Colonel Pepperrell's intentions were. "I was never so weary of any place in my life," he complained.[27] Finally, toward the end of July, the *Bonetta* was ready to sail; but then a leak was discovered. The cargo had to be taken out, and another six weeks or so went by before Captain Clampitt's sojourn at Barbados at last came to an end.[28] On November 12 the *Bonetta* arrived at London.

Five days after the vessel arrived, Elias Pearse, the London merchant, received a letter from Colonel Pepperrell containing instructions for paying off the crew of the *Bonetta* and ordering £500 insurance on the vessel. The insurance was, of course, no longer needed, and as to the wages of the crew, Colonel William's instructions provoked a sharp disagreement on the subject. Pearse's own account of his difficulties with the men, if stripped of its antiquated turn of phrase, might well have been written by the port agent of some present-day steamship company. He wrote to Colonel Pepperrell thus:

As to what you writt in relation to paying the men's wages with allowance for the difference between New England and sterling money, I proposed it to them; but they were surprised at your proposal. They owned they were shipped in New England to go to Barbados and thence back again, where [they] were to have received their wages; and they should not have expected it otherwise. But at Barbados the voyage was altered, and they would not have proceeded for London had not the Captain and Mr. Hole promised them they should be paid in sterling; which if they had not, all would have left her. So as it was a new contract I could not insist otherwise, and indeed when freight is due the wages is, be it in what country it will, and indeed I was much afraid I should have trouble with them too; for the day before the ship was to be sold they came to demand their wages for that they lay at charge. I told them as yet the goods was but just delivered, and we had received no freight, neither knew if any freighter demanded plunderage . . . ; but somebody had put it into their heads that if the ship were sold before they were paid they could not arrest the ship for it afterwards. I endeavored to convince them the contrary, but could not; and would fain have put them off to the next week. But they grumbled, and I

[27] Edward Clampitt to Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, May 25, 1718, *ibid.*, Book I.
[28] Elias Pearse to Wm. Pepperrell, London, Oct. 22, 1718, MeHS MSS., Book I.

considered with the Captain that if they should come at the sale and make any noise there it might prejudice the sale. Although I had not received any money yet, I appointed them to come the next morning and they should be paid, which was accordingly done.[29]

One of the crew was a young Devonshire kinsman of Colonel Pepperrell, Thomas Pridix. In a letter written to Captain Clampitt in Barbados, Colonel William sent his love to Pridix and for some reason or other told the captain to withhold all but £5 of his wages when they arrived in England. Pridix was not prepared for this sort of treatment: he was no apprentice, he told Elias Pearse; but he could persuade the latter to let him have only forty shillings more. Seven years later, however, he was master of the Pepperrells' sloop *Sarah*.[30]

Another West Country emigrant, one John Kitto of Exeter, had just recently completed his apprenticeship with the Pepperrells. When he was serving as a seaman on board the *Molly* under Captain Mittlebury in 1721, he was named to succeed the mate in the event the latter took leave of the vessel. Whether or not he received his promotion on that voyage, Kitto was soon afterwards shipped as mate and might well have gone on to be master. Unfortunately while trading up one of the rivers in North Carolina he "oversot a large canoe" and was drowned. The sequel affords a brief insight into Colonel Pepperrell's character; for he wrote Roger Prowse, the Exeter merchant, asking him to get in touch with Kitto's widowed mother and to pay her £7 11*s.* 6*d.* sterling, as this was the amount of wages coming due to Kitto plus what had been received from the sale of his personal effects. He wanted a receipt, Colonel Pepperrell wrote, to prove the money had been paid, for there were some "that would willing a-kept it." [31]

Even if a vessel carried only two hands before the mast, the captain shared the company of the quarterdeck with a mate. On

[29] Elias Pearse to Wm. Pepperrell, London, Jan. 26, 1719, *ibid.*, Book I.

[30] Wm. Pepperrell to Edward Clampitt, July 3, 1718, *ibid.*, Book II; invoice of cargo, sloop *Sarah,* Antigua, July 26, 1725, *ibid.*, Book I; also Pearse's letter to Pepperrell, Jan. 26, 1719, cited in note 29.

[31] Wm. Pepperrell to Enoch Mittlebury, Feb. 10, 1721, *ibid.*, Book II; Wm. Pepperrell to Roger Prowse, Aug. 25, 1725, quoted from Wm. Salter, "Adventures of a Merchant-Tradesman on the American Continent," *Journal of American History,* IV (1910), 253–254.

the *Kingston* the first mate was paid £9 per month, exactly double the pay received by most of the hands. The second mate, however, received only £5 10*s*. On the smaller vessels there was an even smaller gap between the wages of the mate and those of the seamen. The mate of the *William* received the same wages as the highest-paid hand, £4 per month in 1726 and £4 10*s*. in 1731. Twelve shillings separated the mate of the *Scarborough* from the schooner's two hands. During the 1720's, it has been pointed out, wages of the seamen, and of the mates also, were gradually rising; but captains' wages, which were ten to twenty shillings higher than the mates', did not mount in proportion. In 1732 the mate and master of the *Nonesuch* both received £5 per month, the two seamen £4 per month. In 1747 the officers of the *Charming Molly* actually received less than the men; the mate and master were paid £15 and the seamen £16 per month.[32]

Wages were, however, only a part, possibly a small part, of a captain's total income. On a "trading voyage," for example, the master received a commission on all sales and purchases of cargo; and, according to custom, when goods were shipped as freight he received a certain percentage of the freight earnings—"primage," it was called.

With the employment in later days of a supercargo whose duty it was to render an account to the owners of all cargo received and discharged, the master of the vessel lost his extra income from primage, and considerable ill will between master and supercargo was the not-uncommon result. In one instance when the master of a Pepperrell vessel found himself sharing the responsibility, and no doubt the primage as well, the result was similar.

A certain John Newbold, who seems to have been acting in the capacity of supercargo on board a sloop commanded by John Gowen, met with such ill-treatment from the captain that he left the vessel at Barbados. "I was so much abused by the master," Newbold wrote the Pepperrells from Barbados, and, he continued, "He beat me several times, and after we came here took my venture from me and kept it. Because he and Mr. Whittemore [the mate,

[32] See the portlidge bills previously cited and also the portlidge bill of the schooner *Charming Molly*, 1747, HUHL MSS.

perhaps] gave away several gallons of rum and carried it ashore [and] drank it, he charged it to me." From the day they left Piscataqua, Newbold complained, the master and Whittemore endeavored to make him leave the sloop. The master, he reported, "was afraid that I should inform of his management and . . . that I would acquaint the owners of him when I came home of his doings. . . . He said to several people in Barbados that he would beat me every Monday morning for a fair wind 'till I should leave him. He broke two of my ribs and then I was obliged to leave him to go and get cured." [33] Newbold then went on to explain that although he had "helped ashore with all the cargo" he had not dared to check it for fear of having his brains beaten out; neither could he send an account of all the cargo taken on at Maryland, for goods had several times been loaded while he was "out with the boat" and each time "they" would never give him an account of what had been taken on board.

The treatment Newbold received at the hands of Captain Gowen was probably exceptional, more typical perhaps of the "packet rat" days than of these earlier times, for there had not yet come into being a class of professional foremast hands. Within three years of his experience on board Captain Gowen's sloop, Newbold himself had apparently risen to command a vessel in the Maryland trade.[34]

Not every one of the Pepperrells' captains was, however, a model of virtue, as even the Pepperrells themselves were sometimes forced to admit. A misunderstanding that took place in the early days of their Virginia trade would not have arisen, Colonel William wrote to the shipper, had not the captain concerned "besot himself with drink." The master was "a very honest man," Colonel William explained, "but he is so addicted to drink that there is no trusting of him with anything as to buying and selling." [35] The pitfalls that might trap an unwary master and harass his owners were many and varied. In 1723, not long after Captain Walker's carelessness lost the *Hannah and Sarah* at North Carolina, an excess of humanitarian

[33] John Newbold to Messrs. Wm. Pepperrell, Barbados, July 28, 1727, NEHG MSS., Book I.

[34] *Boston News-Letter,* May 21, 1730; *ibid.,* June 4, 1730.

[35] Wm. Pepperrell to Edward Pare, April 8, 1695, MHS MSS.

zeal or of gullibility on the part of Captain Enoch Mittlebury almost brought the Pepperrells into difficulties with Governor Spotswood of Virginia. While Mittlebury was at the harbor town of Bath, wrote Edward Moseley to Colonel Pepperrell, he "had like to come to some trouble . . . about harboring one of Governor Spotswood's servants, which he was designed to carry off with him. And when he heard that warrants were out to apprehend the servant, instead of delivering him up, he assisted him with his boat and hands to put him ashore." When the Governor's "messenger" returned to Bath after the man was taken, Mittlebury had fortunately left.[36] On the captain's arrival at Piscataqua, Colonel Pepperrell "discoursed him" concerning the matter and came to the conclusion that Mittlebury had acted in ignorance. "Otherwise," he wrote Moseley, "I should look on such actions to be criminal and would no ways countenance them." [37]

Runaway seamen had their parallel in disgruntled masters who ran off with the vessels they commanded. Once his vessel was off soundings and beyond the limit of "counting-house control," only the integrity of the master held him to his voyage. Now and then a captain who had had some differences with the owners could not resist the temptation to strike out for himself, as in the case of the master of the *Centaur,* a snow jointly owned by the second William Pepperrell and Samuel Cutt of Portsmouth. Sent off on a voyage to Cadiz in 1753, the captain of the *Centaur* went instead to Cartagena and refused to proceed to his appointed destination for his return cargo. William, Jr.,—or Sir William, as he was then—and Samuel Cutt instructed their factors at Cadiz to claim the vessel wherever she might be found and to have the master sign an agreement to refer all matters in dispute to "some Gentlemen of character in New England"; but the captain remained intractable. He could be neither displaced nor persuaded to go to Cadiz. In due course he sailed away for Genoa with a cargo of cordage and sal soda; and from there no one knew where he was bound.[38] That this and similar derelictions can be cited testifies to the tremendous responsi-

[36] Edward Moseley to [Wm. Pepperrell], Chowan, March 17, 1724, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[37] Wm. Pepperrell to Edward Moseley, May 21, 1724, *ibid.*

[38] Kemp, Pickern, and Co. to Sir Wm. Pepperrell and Samuel Cutt, Cadiz, March 30, 1754, *ibid.,* Book I.

bility, trust, and discretion resting in the master under the conditions of colonial trade.[39]

Not only was he responsible for everything relating to the navigation of his vessel, but he was also personally accountable for the cargo. Especially was this true with respect to "trading voyages." Captain William Ball, master of the sloop *Success,* kept his accounts of a trading voyage to Newfoundland in August, 1736, in a small folio book. On the left-hand page he listed sales of cargo to thirteen men, and opposite each purchase, on the right-hand page, he credited the payments he received in return.[40] From this he drew up a statement crediting William Pepperrell with the value of the cargo sold at Newfoundland and the fares received from passengers, which he balanced against his 2 per cent commission on the sales, against the value of the goods loaded at Newfoundland, and against cash paid to William.[41] A third account also tabulated the sales and return cargo, but in addition gave the difference between the amount of cargo sold at Newfoundland and that originally taken on at Piscataqua. This account, apparently drawn up by someone acting in the capacity of a supercargo, listed how much of the cargo was returned to Kittery unsold and what was "wanting." [42]

As to goods remaining unsold, Enoch Mittlebury, on one of his voyages to North Carolina, had been directed to turn them over, when he was ready to sail, to the master of either one of two other Pepperrell vessels that were there at the same time. Since Mittlebury had to balance his own vessel's account, even this transaction had the aspect of a sale to an outsider. "You must make your agreement with them [the other two captains] in sterling, otherwise they will put you off with their bills," the Pepperrells instructed Mittlebury.[43]

The Pepperrells seem to have kept in one of their ledgers a running account for each captain. When the lumber that Captain William Dearing loaded at Saco in May, 1734, came to some £3

[39] Several other cases of "runaway" vessels are cited in Weeden, *op. cit.,* II, 576.

[40] Capt. Wm. Ball's Newfoundland account, 1736, J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point.

[41] Sloop *Success,* Newfoundland account, 1736, HUHL MSS.

[42] Account of sales of sloop *Success*'s cargo to Newfoundland, 1736, and returns of said cargo, *ibid.*

[43] Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Enoch Mittlebury, Dec. 5, 1722, MeHS MSS., Book II.

more than the corn and pork he had sold there, the balance was credited to his account in the ledger.[44] The balance due to Captain Ball on his return from Newfoundland in the *Success* was probably posted to his credit in his account, and the value of the goods that were found "wanting" was most likely charged against him. One shipmaster employed by William, Jr., during the 1740's had a balance against his account in 1750 or 1751 of somewhere between £100 and £200, Old Tenor.[45]

On most voyages to the West Indies and to Spain and Portugal the Pepperrells' cargoes were consigned to their correspondents who arranged and accounted for the sale and purchase of the goods. However, disbursements seem to have run higher at Barbados and Antigua than at Newfoundland and probably North Carolina; and the master had to account for the cash received from the Pepperrells' correspondents for the use of the vessel.[46] The various fees—customhouse, naval office, and secretary's fees, powder money, and "let-pass" papers—were small, but numerous. Thus the amount of paper work done by the master was not considerably reduced. It was doubtless as burdensome a chore to Captain Clampitt or Captain Mittlebury as to the master of a present-day freighter.

On a higher level the captain's responsibility seldom became a matter of historical record. He was answerable for mistakes in business judgment as he was for errors in navigation. He had to keep informed of market conditions, know what goods were most suitable, and be able to bargain astutely. Even when his vessel and cargo were consigned in care of a correspondent, the master was not entirely relieved of responsibility; for he was expected to co-operate with the correspondent, to assist him in every way possible.

A native-born son of Kittery, in his early twenties, related in some fashion to the Pepperrell family, had the best chance of being appointed master of a Pepperrell-owned vessel. Of the sixty or so captains that can be identified by name, forty-one or forty-two were Piscataqua men. Twenty-four were from Kittery itself; seventeen

44 Wm. Dearing's account, May, 1734, HUHL MSS.

45 Nahum Ward to [Andrew Pepperrell], Boston, Jan. 31, 1750 [1751?], NEHG MSS., Book I.

46 Brigantine *William,* account of disbursements, Barbados, Feb., 1724, MeHS MSS., Book I; Robert Oram's account, Barbados, 1730, HUHL MSS.

or eighteen came from Portsmouth and New Castle (and of these, three were born in Kittery). Probably eight or nine others came from Piscataqua and from York, Hampton, and other neighboring towns.[47] William Frost, a grandson of William Pepperrell, Sr., was only about eighteen years old when first mentioned as master of a Pepperrell vessel. Bray Dearing, a nephew of Colonel Pepperrell, was only twenty-two. Pelletiah Whittemore, another grandson, was twenty-three. They were the youngest of the twenty-two captains whose ages can be established. Altogether there were nine of them who were twenty-five years old or under when they first appear in command and six who were from twenty-six to thirty years old, inclusive.

After one reached the age of thirty, the likelihood of becoming the master of a Pepperrell vessel diminished considerably.[48] On the other hand, a successful merchant-captain, shipwright, or fisherman in his forties or early fifties stood a good chance of taking out a vessel in which the Pepperrells held a controlling share. Stephen Eastwick had commanded vessels in the Caribbean trade for at least fifteen years and had been a selectman and Kittery's representative to the General Court when, at the age of fifty, for apparently the first and only time, he sailed as master of a Pepperrell vessel on a voyage to Cadiz. It was probably a vessel that Eastwick "bought into." Francis Winkley at the age of forty-two commanded one of the two brigantines that William Pepperrell, Jr., and Charles Apthorp fitted out in 1731. He had a boat yard on Crooked Lane and had done some work on the Pepperrells' vessels—perhaps had even built some of them. His father had been master of the *Mary* back in 1695. Three other captains, Henry Barter, Jr., his brother William, and William Branscombe, were over forty when they first appear in the records. Of the entire group Branscombe was the one most likely to have made a career in the service of the Pepperrells. He had shipped as a seaman on board the *Culver* in 1729, at the age of nineteen, and might well have become master of a Pepperrell vessel

[47] Based on genealogical data in Stackpole, *op. cit.*, and Libby, Noyes, and Davis, *op cit.*

[48] There are only two initial references to masters in their thirties, and neither one was over thirty-five.

before 1753 when he had command of the *Speedwell*. One possibility is that during the intervening period he had served as captain for some other shipowner.

At least six captains served with the Pepperrells ten years or more, and four or five others saw at least five years of service. Robert Oram must have been a young man when he commanded the brigantine *Andrew* in 1730, for he lived to witness the breakup of the Pepperrell fortunes during the Revolution. In the twenty-six years following 1730 he was master of eight different Pepperrell vessels and was probably still in Sir William's employ when the latter died in 1759. Edward Clampitt served the Pepperrells over a period of eleven years. From 1720 to 1749, and probably until as late as 1757, a John More commanded a vessel for the Pepperrells; but they were apparently a father and son, both sea captains. William Snow, the errant master of the *Centaur* in 1754, had been master of another of William Pepperrell's vessels nine years before.

Shifting from the employ of one shipowner to that of another was not uncommon. William Frost's early career was probably typical. In 1723 he was master of a Pepperrell vessel trading to the West Indies; three years later he commanded one belonging to William Knight of Portsmouth; next, he commanded another Pepperrell vessel, and in 1730 or 1731 he was master of a vessel of which Silas Hooper of London was the managing owner. When the Pepperrells sold one of their vessels, the master occasionally took a command under another owner until the Pepperrells could provide him with another vessel. Enoch Mittlebury, returning to Boston after his sloop was sold in England, wrote to Colonel Pepperrell to see if another vessel were ready for him. In ten days he was going to go to Marblehead to load fish, apparently as mate of a vessel commanded by a Captain Carey; but "I am to be clear if I desire it," he wrote to Colonel William.[49] Within a few months he was back with the Pepperrells as master of another sloop. Captain Clampitt's rather doleful letters from Barbados with the news of his intended departure for England in the *Bonetta* seem to have given Colonel Pepperrell reason to believe that the captain would not return after the vessel was sold. "If you are willing to come to sail out of these parts," he wrote to Clampitt, "I will be concerned in a good vessel

[49] Enoch Mittlebury to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, Nov. 20, 1721, MeHS MSS., Book I.

for you." [50] Unlike Mittlebury, who came from New Castle, Captain Clampitt does not appear to have been a Piscataqua man; but he returned, to command Pepperrell vessels for another ten years before he dropped out of sight. John Sherburne, prior to taking command of the Pepperrells' schooner *Sea Horse* in 1733, was mate of a vessel owned by one of the Portsmouth Wentworths.[51]

Although it might be expected that a retired shipmaster, upon whose judgment had rested the lives of his crew, the safety of his vessel, and the success of numerous ventures, would have been entrusted with the responsibilities of public office, this was not the case. It was not the autocrats of the quarterdeck who ruled Kittery's town meetings, held town offices, and represented the town at the General Court, but rather the shipowners and the prominent landholding families, who stayed at home while the captains roamed the seas. With the exception of Richard and Robert Cutt, whose status as ship captains of the Pepperrells was incidental to their standing as members of the latter class, only three of the twenty-four Kittery men who commanded Pepperrell vessels played an active role in town affairs.[52] Town office and public affairs remained in the hands of a few families.

[50] Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Edward Clampitt, July 3, 1718, *ibid.*, Book II.

[51] See L. W. Jenkins, "A New Hampshireman Transports Spanish Troops to Oran—1732," *American Neptune,* VI (1946), 179–193, for the interesting journal kept by Sherburne while the vessel of which he was mate was employed as a troop transport in the Spanish expedition against Oran.

[52] Kittery Town Records, Books I–II.

⚓ CHAPTER VIII

From Merchant Prince to Baronet

⚓ A BACKWARD glance at the Pepperrells' activities over the seventy years prior to 1745 reveals several features of their trade that deviated from the generally accepted pattern of colonial commerce. The character of their trade differed noticeably from the commercial activities of the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia merchant; but the method of conducting it was essentially the same.

The three major coastal towns—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—were urban markets and distributing centers. Their trade was basically an import trade. Fine furniture and fancy clothes, silverware and pewter, books, and similar luxuries found a ready market in the towns themselves. Hats, coarse textiles, and tools and implements of one sort or another were necessities in demand among the country villagers and farmers of the hinterland. Almost all were English imports; and, for lack of a currency, merchants of the principal coastal towns were forced into roundabout paths of trade to obtain products marketable in England.[1] Evidence continues to pile up that colonial vessels, on the other hand, seldom made a complete circuit of the trade routes, but shuttled back and forth like the sloops and brigantines of the Pepperrells.

The trade of the Pepperrells was shaped by a frontier environment and by the fact that the Piscataqua region supplied two widely acceptable staples—lumber and fish—for which there was a brisk demand in the West Indies and in Spain and Portugal. Rum, molasses, and salt were, in turn, necessities of life to the people of

[1] V. D. Harrington, *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1935), pp. 64–65; W. T. Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–52.

Piscataqua. A direct trade with the West Indies and the Iberian countries was therefore mutually desirable and presented no special problems. A two-way exchange of local products with the West Indies had been the aim of the earliest maritime efforts of Boston also and, in Connecticut, of New Haven and New London.[2] But Boston soon outgrew its first endeavors.

Fish and lumber were much sought after in England too; but, on the other hand, the Piscataqua had no hinterland to speak of, and frontier conditions did not encourage the importation of luxury goods. Furthermore, the English market for fish was well taken care of by Newfoundland and by England's own North Sea fisheries. Nevertheless, lumbering and maritime enterprise did create at Piscataqua a demand for ironware, cordage, tools, duck, and similar products that were obtainable for the most part only from England; and there was a very limited demand for some of the luxuries. Boston and Newfoundland could supply most of the English goods in sufficient quantities. A certain amount of direct trade with England, conducted almost exclusively by English merchants, took place, however; and it is interesting to note that the problem for the English entrepreneurs was not one of finding suitable returns from Piscataqua, but of making payment for the cargoes of fish which they loaded there.

Piscataqua's lumbering and maritime activities created also a demand for larger quantities of wheat, provisions, and naval stores than were supplied locally. The southern colonies could usually be counted upon to make up the deficiency, but they offered a poor market for lumber and fish. Hence the trade with Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina was sustained for the most part on the "profits" of Piscataqua's trade in other directions; and, conversely, the surplus naval stores and provisions from the southern colonies frequently went to Newfoundland and the West Indies. In this respect, trade between Piscataqua and the southern colonies somewhat resembled Boston's commerce, and that of Philadelphia and New York, with England.

The Pepperrells' West Indies trade was not a mere means to an

[2] R. M. Hooker, *The Colonial Trade of Connecticut* (New Haven, 1936), pp. 6–8; F. M. Caulkins, *History of New London, Connecticut* (New London, 1895), p. 234; Morison, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.

end, but an exchange of local products between two complementary economic areas. Thus their vessels shuttled back and forth with only an occasional deviation in the shape of a triangular voyage. The North Carolina and Newfoundland trades were carried on in similar fashion. Direct, two-way sailings, and a solicitous regard for quick turn-arounds, were a prominent feature of the Pepperrells' trade.

After the early years, southbound cargoes to Antigua and Barbados were almost invariably made up wholly of their own goods, shipped on their own account. Northbound, however, the Pepperrells' shipments were only a fraction of their vessels' capacity, and the bulk of these return cargoes must have consisted of freight.

During the 1720's triangular voyages became more common. In several instances the ownership of the vessels engaged in such voyages was shared by the Pepperrells' correspondents in Barbados and London, and in one case—that of the *Bonetta* in 1718—the Pepperrells were not responsible for sending the vessel on to London.

Only a trifling amount of the Pepperrells' trade flowed through illicit channels. They traded with the French at Cape Breton Island and Newfoundland, and perhaps one-fourth of the returns, in value, of their trade in that direction consisted of European goods. How much was obtained illegally from the French, how much was purchased from English sackships after having been brought illegally from France or Spain, and how much came, as it all should have come, by way of England, cannot be determined. Even if all the European goods which the Pepperrells bought at Newfoundland were illegally imported in one way or another, the total would still have been small compared to the volume of all their trade with the West Indies, with the southern colonies, with England, Spain, and Portugal. There is no evidence that Pepperrell vessels returning from Spain or Portugal, during this period, brought back any prohibited goods. During the 1720's the younger William Pepperrell began to show some tendency to disregard the restrictions on colonial exports. He sent small quantities of naval stores to the French West Indies and again violated the law in his joint undertaking with Charles Apthorp of Boston in 1731. These illicit exports were of even less importance, however, than the questionable imports

from Newfoundland. By far the largest part of the Pepperrells' trade was carried on within the limits of the laws.

They might have brought their brandy, silks, and Spanish iron direct from Spain had it not been for the Acts of Trade, and they might have continued their trade with the French West Indies had it not been for the Molasses Act; but no feeling of constraint, no suggestion that the laws hampered their activities, was voiced by the Pepperrells.

They achieved success without the benefit of any spectacular coup or fortunate windfall. Others might discover a sunken Spanish galleon, or capture a lucrative government contract, or speculate successfully in sterling exchange, but the Pepperrells owed their prosperity to perseverance, to their careful, meticulous tactics over a period of more than three-quarters of a century. All their transactions were, individually, on a small scale, even by contemporary standards; but in the aggregate they commanded the respect of the Pepperrells' fellow merchants.

Both Pepperrells lacked the breadth of view that characterized the letters of Caleb Heathcote, for example.[3] On the other hand, they had a grasp of the mechanics of trade that was probably unusual. It cannot be said of their vessels that they "frequently wandered without prearranged plans, from port to port, the shipcaptains buying, selling, bartering, or carrying freight as occasion offered." [4] When they sent their captains on a "trading voyage," the Pepperrells, in their thorough, detailed letters of instruction, attempted to provide for every contingency. Furthermore, only in their trade with the southern colonies and Newfoundland were such voyages the rule rather than the exception. They were, as Colonel Pepperrell knew, an unsatisfactory substitute for shipping goods "on consignment." The latter made for better dispatch, which was, and still is, one of the essentials of successful shipping operations. The Pepperrells recognized the importance also of flexibility. Soundly established and well acquainted in four or five different trades, they could curtail operations and shift the empha-

[3] Heathcote's views on matters of imperial trade are given in D. R. Fox, *Caleb Heathcote, Gentleman Colonist* (New York, 1926), chap. vi.

[4] H. C. Bell, "The West India Trade before the American Revolution," *American Historical Review,* XXII, No. 2 (1917), 276.

sis from one to another as it seemed necessary. In this they were facilitated by the large number of vessels of differing tonnage that they owned and controlled.

An important element in their success was their ability to maintain satisfactory relations with their correspondents. The use of credit without any of the elaborate modern machinery frequently threw the relations that existed between North American merchants and their overseas factors into confusion and strife. Merchants sometimes had to wait "unconscionably long" for their returns. Sometimes they could not, or cared not to, resist the temptation to order goods far in excess of the consignments they sent out. Mutual recrimination and a state of affairs that made the system unworkable were the result.[5] The Pepperrells avoided these pitfalls, however. They were willing to let their accounts run along, with the balance of indebtedness swinging from side to side, until the correspondent gave up his business or until the connection for some other reason was broken. Although markets had their ups and downs, the goods in which the Pepperrells traded were in constant demand. Consequently they knew and their correspondents knew that over a period of years the two-way flow of goods would find its level.

Owing to the nature of their trade, the Pepperrells had a considerable amount of capital invested in England. When he made his will shortly before his death in 1759, the younger Pepperell, Sir William, disposed of £6000 sterling "out of my money in London under the care of William Baker, Esq."; and he apparently thought that there might be a balance remaining.[6] These were surplus funds, distinct from the accounts carried with Thomlinson, Kilby, Hooper, and other London merchants. Surplus capital accumulated in New England was invested in loans and real estate, the two most popular forms of investment in the colonies. The Pepperrells became the neighborhood bankers. Their landholdings, although by no means the largest in New England, lay scattered along the coast from Piscataqua to Falmouth.

As an outlet for surplus capital, land was an income-producing

[5] Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 122; W. T. Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–60, 235–236; Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 283–284.

[6] Sargent, ed., *Maine Wills*, pp. 845–858.

investment, a speculation in appreciating values, and a source of what economists call "psychic income." The intangible reward was less illusory then; for in eighteenth-century New England, shipping might be the source of wealth, but land was the basis of gentility.

The first William Pepperrell started off, in 1689, by purchasing some fifteen acres of land adjoining the twelve he had acquired on his arrival at Kittery Point. Five years later he received a town grant of sixty acres which was laid out on the other side of his house lot. In the same year, 1694, he was, for the first time, chosen selectman; in the following year he was appointed by the provincial council to the York County Court of Common Pleas.[7] He continued to enlarge his holdings at Kittery Point and began to make purchases farther east. By 1700 he had acquired two parcels totaling 110 or 130 acres in Saco and Biddeford and a tract of 300 acres at Damariscotta. Now he was being described in deeds as "merchant" rather than "mariner." Beginning in 1696 William Pepperrell was chosen to preside over the March town meeting for nine consecutive years. In six of these years he also served as selectman and in 1697 was the representative of Kittery at the General Court in Boston. His land-buying and office-holding activities came to a temporary halt, however, in 1705 when, it will be recalled, he sailed to Europe in command of the *William and Andrew;* but they were resumed in 1708 when he was again elected representative to the General Court.[8]

By 1715 he had obtained most of the harborside land at Kittery Point, perhaps fifteen hundred acres that began at the point where in 1635 Alexander Shapleigh had built the first house and stretched from there around Pepperrell Cove out toward Braveboat Harbor. In York he owned the major interest in a sawmill and held one or two hundred acres of land besides. In addition to the Saco, Biddeford, and Damariscotta holdings acquired earlier, he now had 250 acres on the Presumpscot River at Falmouth, where he proposed to build another sawmill. In all, his holdings came to some two

[7] *Cal. St. Papers,* 1693–1696, No. 1701.

[8] For land purchases, see Sargent *et al.,* eds., *York Deeds,* Vols. IV–VII, *passim.* For grants and town offices held by Wm. Pepperrell, see Kittery Town Records, Book I, under the respective years.

thousand acres; probably a little more than half of it was improved farm lands.[9]

In the meantime, in the twenty years preceding 1715, he had served as selectman nine times; had twelve times presided over the March town meeting, in which the town officers were chosen; and had twice been elected to represent Kittery at the General Court.[10]

Now the younger William entered the business. One of the first transactions in which he appeared was the purchase of 10,500 acres of timberland at Saco, for which he paid £480. Soon afterward he negotiated an agreement with a Portsmouth millwright and Humphrey Scammon, Jr., of Kittery, whereby the two men undertook to build a sawmill and house on the land and to pay William Pepperrell, Jr., £178 in return for a half interest in the lands, timber, mill, and house. The Pepperrells, buying up adjacent lands from time to time, eventually acquired the larger part of present-day Saco and Scarborough.[11]

It was natural and inevitable that William Pepperrell, Jr., should be chosen for political office. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, Kittery town affairs were dominated by nine families: the Pepperrells, Cutts, and Gunnisons of lower Kittery and the Frosts, Shapleighs, Dennetts, Hammonds, Emerys, and Leightons of upper Kittery. Town offices were passed around among them and handed down from father to son and grandson. More than half the selectmen, from 1693 to 1760 inclusive, came from these nine families. They furnished the representative to the General Court in forty-eight of the sixty-three years in which one was chosen during this period; and in every year but four a Pepperrell or one of the others was chosen to preside over the town meeting in March.[12]

When the younger William Pepperrell reached the age of twenty-four, he was sent to the General Court, where he quickly became

[9] In addition to the references in the preceding note, see Sargent *et al.*, eds., *York Deeds,* Vol. VIII, *passim.*

[10] Minutes of town meetings for 1710 and the following years are in Kittery Town Records, Book II.

[11] Sargent *et al.*, eds., *York Deeds,* VIII, fols. 185–186, 220–221; Parsons, *op. cit.,* pp. 23–24. Parsons errs in the matter of the purchase price of the Saco lands and in stating that the transaction was carried out in the name of the elder Pepperrell.

[12] Kittery Town Records, Books I–II, *passim.*

associated with Elisha Cooke and the "popular party" in attempting to curb the activities of John Bridger, Surveyor General of His Majesty's Woods.[13] Two years later, in 1722, he became a selectman for the first time. In 1724 and again in 1726 he was chosen to be the town's representative at Boston; and in the latter year he served also as selectman and moderator of the town meeting. By this time Governor Samuel Shute, wearied of quarreling with an intransigent House of Representatives, had turned over the affairs of the province to Lieutenant Governor William Dummer and returned to England. Dummer, a native son of Massachusetts, was sympathetic towards the popular party, the faction that had so harassed Governor Shute. He touched only lightly on the King's prerogative, overlooked encroachments upon the royal woods, encouraged quietly the settlement of back-country Maine, and pursued a vigorous frontier policy—a course of action that could not have failed to meet the approval of the young representative from Kittery. In 1727, at the age of thirty-one, William was appointed to a place at the Council board beside his friend Jonathan Belcher and other leading men of the province. The fact that he retained his seat throughout the political troubles of the succeeding years speaks well for his prudence and tact. For in 1728 a new governor, William Burnet, arrived at Boston, and the political scene at once shifted back to the days of Governor Shute. For a year and a half Burnet struggled vainly to persuade the General Court to grant him a fixed salary. He prorogued the Court several times, shifted its meetings from Boston to Salem to Cambridge, and withheld approval of the members' pay, with no other effect than to make the Court more obdurate in its refusal. He vetoed the appointments of Jonathan Belcher and another councilor who had been too forward in their opposition, but William Pepperrell managed to keep his seat.[14]

At the end of August, 1729, just after the General Court was transferred to Cambridge, Governor Burnet had an accident. As he was driving aboard the ferry, his coach overturned and he was thrown into the river. Although safely pulled from the water, the

[13] House of Representatives, Committee to Investigate Tree Cutting in Maine, March 17, 1720, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. I, No. 85.

[14] Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26, 297; Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 93–97.

Governor took ill and died. William Dummer, who had in the meanwhile continued as Lieutenant Governor, again took charge until a new governor could be appointed. He was none other than Jonathan Belcher. Sent to England as agent of the House of Representatives after he had been displaced as councilor, Belcher had been in a favorable position to promote his own interests when the news of Burnet's death reached London.[15] The appointment was received by the merchants of Boston with considerable pleasure. "We have great expectations from our new Governor," wrote Benjamin Pemberton to William, Jr., "and at present things look well." [16]

William stayed on the Council and continued to serve, under five different administrations, for thirty-two consecutive years from 1727 until his death in 1759. He held the presidency of the Council for eighteen years, and in that capacity he governed the province during the four months that intervened between the death of Lieutenant Governor Spencer Phipps and the arrival of Governor Pownall in August, 1757. Few colonials could match his record.

One of Governor Belcher's first official acts had been to make William Pepperrell, Jr., Chief Justice of the York County Court, on which he had been serving as judge since 1725. Like his colleagues, William was untrained in the law, but the decisions of the court were probably none the worse for their having been rendered by amateurs. Most of the business that came before them consisted of simple, cut-and-dried cases of assault or "profane cursing" and of slightly more complicated matters of nonpayment of debt or of trespass and ejectment, for which William's business experience was just as valuable as a legal training would have been. Occasionally a case loaded with political dynamite came before the court. By this time John Bridger's troubles with the Massachusetts Bay Colony had been inherited by David Dunbar, his successor as Surveyor General and recently appointed Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire, who was proceeding vigorously not only against the violators of the King's woods, but also against the few settlers

[15] Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century,* pp. 99–100; J. T. Adams, "Jonathan Belcher," *Dictionary of American Biography,* II, 143–144.

[16] Benjamin Pemberton to Wm. Pepperrell, [Jr.], Boston, Aug. 16, 1730, MeHS MSS., Book II.

east of the Kennebec River, under the misapprehension that he was to be Governor of a new province there. When one of the settlers expelled by Dunbar's men complained to the Massachusetts authorities, Sheriff Jeremiah Moulton of York County was ordered to apprehend the offenders, and this he did. They were brought before the court during the January, 1731, term and charged with unlawful assembly and armed assault.

In the records of the court the case appears as a very ordinary one against Samuel Hamble, Thomas Lamont, Hugh Wallis, and James Boles, laborers, who, armed with guns and other weapons, did assault Josiah Grover and seize and carry away his schooner and the fishing boats belonging to it. Found guilty, they were assessed a heavy fine and even heavier costs and incarcerated in the York jail for three months.[17] Dunbar immediately wrote to the Duke of Newcastle and to the Board of Trade and Plantations complaining about the decision. Thus began his feud with Governor Belcher and a chain of intrigue that eventually cost Belcher his governorship; but none of these political implications appear in the court records. An innocent-looking case of trespass, three years later, in which the court awarded damages of £121 to John Frost of Berwick, the plaintiff, was nothing less than the opening round of one of the most celebrated legal battles of the colonial period, the case of *Frost* v. *Leighton,* which has been described as "the most outstanding case of judicial defiance of royal authority" in the matter of colonial timberlands.[18] On the bench, as in his countinghouse, William probably did not look far beyond the immediate issues. The royal prerogative, as such, he always took for granted, however much he might oppose certain of its instruments. Not long afterwards, in fact, he showed some interest in obtaining for himself the very post that had brought Dunbar into conflict with the Pepperrells and their neighbors, the office of Surveyor General of His Majesty's Woods and Forests in America.

[17] Court of General Sessions, Jan. 5, 1731, York County Records, Vol. IX. The last year of the elder Wm. Pepperrell's service as judge of the county court (1719–1720) and the early years of William, Jr.'s, tenure are covered in Volumes VII–VIII of the York Records.

[18] Albion, *Forests and Sea Power,* p. 266. Additional material on the case of Samuel Hamble and others is in *Cal. St. Papers,* 1731, Nos. 300–301, and Wood, *op. cit.,* pp. 31–34, 56–58.

Meanwhile, on the Council, William established a reputation as an expert on Indian affairs and other matters relating to the frontiers. In July, 1727, scarcely a month after his appointment, he and a number of others of the Council and House of Representatives were called upon to accompany Lieutenant Governor Dummer to a conference with the eastern Indians at Falmouth. It was a colorful gathering. Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire, with some of his councilors, and the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia were there, and perhaps a hundred Indians or more attended. After endless and repititious speeches of welcome had been made, the treaty of amity and friendship that had been in effect for some time was renewed. Then the governors and their august councilors celebrated the signing of the treaty by spending a day "in diversion" with the Indians. After that the powwow was resumed with the discussion of such questions as whether the Indians held any English captives and what, if anything, should be done about the prices charged by truckmasters at the forts. Also on the agenda were the depredations caused by dogs belonging to the Indians and the encroachment of the Mohegan Indians on the hunting grounds of the Indians of Maine.[19] It was not William Pepperrell's first experience in the field of Indian diplomacy, for as a representative he had gone to at least one previous conference. Thereafter, for upwards of thirty years, he attended every one.[20] When some Indian wards of the province brought a complaint against their trustee, William was one of the three councilors appointed to investigate the matter. Whenever the constantly simmering boundary controversies with Rhode Island and New Hampshire showed signs of boiling over, William was sometimes the head and generally a member of the committee chosen to manage the affair.[21] When a grant was to be made to the chaplain at one of the frontier forts or when the gratitude and thanks of the General Court were to be conveyed to His Majesty's ministers for having sent cannon

[19] Report of conference with the Indians, Falmouth, July 11–27, 1727, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 256–282.

[20] [Wm. Pepperrell] to Secretary Willard, Kittery, July 19, 1751, MHS MSS.

[21] Petition of Amos Ahawton *et al.* against John Quincy, trustee, Nov. 25, 1741, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XXXI, No. 341; report of Council on above petition, presented by Wm. Pepperrell, March 31, 1742, *ibid.*, No. 343; Council journal, July 25, 1741, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 572.

"and other warlike stores" to the province, William was appointed to the committee charged with the matter. Upon one occasion, when Captain Cutter at the Saco Falls fort encountered a situation in which his orders from the Governor were contrary to what seemed the proper course, William instructed him to disregard his orders and gave him directions how to proceed.[22]

Some years before his father died, William succeeded him as colonel of the York regiment of militia, in command of the defenses and military establishment of the whole region from the Piscataqua to the boundaries of Quebec. In the peace that followed Lovewell's War his duties and responsibilities were not too exacting. Only a certain amount of vigilance and an occasional inspection to see that the frontier defenses were not falling into too great disrepair were required. However, the outbreak of the Spanish War in 1739 called for more active measures. William summoned all the militia officers to a meeting at Falmouth to discuss a better type of organization, discipline, and the need of new equipment. New companies were added to the regiment, and old vacancies in the ranks of existing companies were filled. The next winter a new regiment was formed out of the militia from Falmouth eastward, and the command was given to Samuel Waldo.[23] The General Court accepted a report of the Council, drawn up by William Pepperrell, and voted £4000 for strengthening Castle William, in Boston Harbor. Salem, Marblehead, and the other coastal towns received grants for improving their defenses also.[24]

There was still peace on the frontier, however, and this time the French and English in North America remained at peace until the war had begun in Europe. Only the efforts of Governor Shirley, a lifelong "tory imperialist," and the fear that hostilities with Spain made war with France inevitable had persuaded the reluctant legislators of Massachusetts to loosen the purse strings for defense appropriations. When the Governor brought up a question that had been the bane of his predecessors, the question of a fixed salary, the

[22] Council journal, July 2, 1740, *ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 161; Council journal, March 20, 1743, *ibid.*, Vol. XX, No. 362; Ammi Cutter to Wm. Pepperrell, Jeremiah Moulton, and John Hill, Saco Falls, June 19, 1744, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, No. 494; Wm. Pepperrell to Gov. Shirley, Kittery, June 22, 1744, *ibid.*, No. 495.

[23] W. D. Williamson, *op. cit.*, II, 201.

[24] Jacob Wendell to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, April 12, 1742, MHS MSS.

strings were hastily drawn tight again.[25] However, friendly relations with the eastern Indians were as important to the defense of Massachusetts as coastal fortifications, and not nearly so burdensome to the public treasury. Consequently, in order to keep the peace and to secure their allegiance in the event of an outbreak along the frontier, the Governor proposed a conference with the Penobscot Indians in the summer of 1742. A committee of the Council and the House, headed by William Pepperrell, was appointed to accompany him, and on their return journey, after the conference had been satisfactorily concluded, the Governor and his party inspected all the garrison posts from Pemaquid to Saco.[26]

The situation became more threatening in the following year, 1743. In October, William received a message from the Governor notifying him that word had come from England of an imminent break with France and directing him "forthwith" to warn and secure the exposed settlements against any sudden assault. William sent a copy of Shirley's letter to each captain in his regiment and added only the following comment: "I hope that he who gave us our breath will give us the courage and prudence to behave ourselves like true-born Englishmen." [27]

Seven months later, in May, 1744, a merchantman from Glasgow brought the long-expected news that France had declared war. Shirley had not yet been officially notified that hostilities had commenced when a force of French and Indians from Cape Breton Island captured and destroyed the English settlement at Canso. In August the French appeared before Annapolis Royal.[28] Before the year was out "a project of wild audacity"—an expedition, no less, against strongly fortified Louisbourg—was taking shape in Boston.

The idea had been in the air for three or four years. When in 1741 Governor Clarke of New York proposed an attack against Louisbourg, he was following up the views of his predecessor, Governor Crosby, and during the next few years Governor Shirley, Judge Robert Auchmuty, Commodore Warren, Christopher Kilby, and

[25] Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–121.
[26] Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XXXI, No. 408; Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
[27] Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–42.
[28] McLennan, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–115; Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 130n., 183–184.

others all made the same suggestion.[29] Mary Pepperrell Colman, William Pepperrell's oldest sister, recalled in September, 1745, that William and Commodore Warren "used three or four years ago to talk of . . . going together for the conquest of Louisbourg." [30] The proposals all anticipated an expedition from England, with the colonies lending some measure of assistance; none of them contemplated an undertaking that would be financed, directed, and carried out by the colonies alone. Although the scheme had its proponents in England, it failed to make much headway there, and by the end of 1744 Shirley and a few others realized that if the expedition were to take place it would have to be a colonial undertaking.[31] The audacity of Shirley's proposal was not that Louisbourg should be attacked, but that it be attacked by New England militiamen.

When Shirley laid his project before the General Court in January, 1745, there was at first as little enthusiasm for it as there had been in England for an English expedition. A joint committee of the House and Council concurred in Shirley's estimate of the importance of Louisbourg and recommended that a petition setting forth the danger be sent to the King. But they would go only so far as to promise the assistance of the colony in any attempt made against the fortress. However, upon the petition of a number of merchants the General Court agreed to reconsider the matter a week or so later.[32] Up to this point William Pepperrell, the president of the Council, had taken no part in the proceedings. Presumably he was away. But now a new joint committee, with William at the head, was appointed, and on January 25 they recommended that the Governor's proposal be approved and that immediate steps be taken to enlist three thousand volunteers for the reduction of Louisbourg. On the same day the House and the Honorable Board of Assistants adopted the committee's recommendations. "It seems

[29] McLennan, *op. cit.,* pp. 130–131.

[30] Rev. Benjamin and Mary Colman to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, Sept. 21, 1745, Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* Ser. 6, X (1899), 371–372.

[31] The English attitude is deplored in two articles pointing to the importance of Louisbourg: anon., "How a French War Should Be Conducted," *London Magazine,* April, 1744, pp. 192–195; Americus, "The Present Danger of Our North America," *ibid.,* Sept., 1744, pp. 444–446.

[32] Francis Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (2 vols., Boston, 1892), II, 85–87; Wood, *op. cit.,* pp. 246–252.

certain," writes Louisbourg's historian, "that the influence of Pepperrell, exerted personally and through his associates, was paramount in bringing about this result." [33]

The choice of a commander presented difficulties, principally because among the original group of zealots there were those who felt that their activities in behalf of the expedition entitled them to the honor of leading it. William Vaughan of Damariscotta, who was perhaps responsible for arousing Shirley's initial interest and was certainly instrumental in reviving the affair after its first defeat in the General Court, made known to the Governor his hope of receiving the appointment. John Bradstreet, another enthusiast, was even more self-assertive than Vaughan.[34] Although he had no claim on the basis of his zeal and industry, as Vaughan and Bradstreet had, Benning Wentworth, the Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire, was ready to forget his gout and anxious to assume the burden of commanding the expedition. They were not experienced soldiers, nor was there anyone who was. Among the officers of the provincial militia there were some, no doubt, who had served briefly under Admiral Vernon in the Caribbean—a poor schooling, however, for future commanders—and there were a few aged veterans of the Indian wars; but there was not one who had any training or experience in the technical side of warfare, who had what would seem to have been the essential military background. In this respect there was little to choose among all the claimants to the honor. By virtue, however, of his personal qualities, his knowledge of Cape Breton Island and the eastern frontier, and his long experience in public affairs, particularly in those relating to military matters and the Indians, one man stood out conspicuously above all the others. It is to Shirley's credit that he hesitated only a matter of three or four days and then made the only logical choice—William Pepperrell.

The Governor was unfortunately addicted to cajolery. In an effort to hold their interest and support he suggested to Bradstreet, Wentworth, and even Commodore Warren that, but for various

[33] McLennan, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–133. The report presented by Wm. Pepperrell for the committee is in C. H. Lincoln, ed., *Correspondence of William Shirley* (2 vols., New York, 1912), I, 169–170.

[34] Wm. Vaughan to Gov. Shirley, Boston, Jan. 14, 1745, quoted in McLennan, *op. cit.*, appendix I, p. 360; L. E. de Forest, ed., *Louisbourg Journals, 1745* (New York, 1932), p. 171.

considerations, he would have given them the chief command. Apparently with the same end in view he wrote to William Pepperrell just after the expedition got under way that he would have appointed him commander of the naval forces also had it not been for the King's express orders to the contrary. As a result Shirley laid himself open to charges of double-dealing.[35]

The choice of William Pepperrell was understandable even to the most faultfinding critics of the Governor, one of whom scribbled the following warning to William:

You was made G-n-r-l being a popular man
most likely to raise Soldiers soonest.
The Expedition was calculated to establish Sh-rl-y
and to make his Creature W—o Governor of Cape
Breton which is to be a place of Refuge for him
from his creditors.
He is to go home from thence immediately if the Place
be taken.
Beware of Snakes in the Grass and mark their hissing.
We are, Sir: Your Servants—
The Birds of the Air
P.S. A Word to the Wise is enough.[36]

William's popularity and ability to get along with his associates were indeed in large measure responsible for Shirley's decision, but that this was the case was surely not to the discredit of either the general or the Governor.

They proved to be indispensable qualities; for the most formidable obstacles that William faced at Louisbourg were the jealousy and suspicion between the Massachusetts men and the New Hampshire troops and between the provincial army and the English naval forces, homesickness, and an aversion to military discipline.[37]

That the general had need of all his popularity and amiability is revealed in a series of letters, some of them in the form of a journal, written to Richard Waldron of Portsmouth by his son, Captain Thomas Westbrook Waldron of the New Hampshire regi-

[35] Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 61. During the Seven Years' War, Shirley adopted similar tactics.

[36] Louisbourg Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society MS. Colls.

[37] The story of the siege has been vividly and vigorously told in Parkman, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, in Belknap, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, and in McLennan, *op. cit.*

ment. Unlike some of William's critics, young Waldron had no private ends to serve, no sense of personal wrongs to air; and his father, a former New Hampshire councilor, was an intimate friend and political confidant of William Pepperrell. At the rendezvous at Canso, Waldron noted that when work was started on a fort there New Hampshire men were "the first laborers" and that the plan of attack on the Royal Battery at Louisbourg called for drawing one of the companies out of the regiment and placing it in a detachment under the command of Colonel John Bradstreet for an assault "by a storm, sword in hand." His complaint on this score was not leveled directly at the general, but arose from his bitter enmity toward Bradstreet and the fact that the scheme was "found in Boston." [38] Nevertheless, as the army settled down before Louisbourg for a siege of indefinite duration Waldron became increasingly critical of General Pepperrell, whom he took to calling "the Guinea master." The use of red-hot shot against the town, he complained, "will make the war much more terrible in North America than otherwise it would have been," and the houses were not close enough together in any event, he wrote, for "this piece of humane malice [sic]" to have much effect. He informed his father that the size of the army had been greatly exaggerated, that the supply of powder was very low, and that unless Commodore Warren did as he had hinted and sailed boldly into the harbor the siege would last until fall.[39]

During most of the siege the men accepted hardship and danger either with the fortitude and courage of crusaders or in the lighthearted, boisterous spirit of "a Cambridge commencement." But not long before Waldron wrote the last of the above-mentioned letters, several futile and costly assaults against a French battery well placed upon an island commanding the harbor had brought matters to a standstill.[40] At this moment the morale of the soldiers was almost as low as the contents of their powder horns. Shortly, however, the besiegers, from a height overlooking the Island Bat-

[38] T. W. Waldron to Richard Waldron, Canso, April 15, 1745, University of Michigan, Clements Library MS. Colls., Louisbourg Papers; same to same, Louisbourg, July 8, 1745, *ibid.*

[39] T. W. Waldron to Richard Waldron, at the camp before Louisbourg, June 6, 1745, *ibid.;* same to same, June 8, 1745, and June 9, 1745, *ibid.*

[40] Parkman, *op. cit.,* II, 129–131; McLennan, *op. cit.,* p. 161.

tery, were able to bring some heavy guns to bear on the French position, which soon became untenable. This was the turning point. The harbor now lay open to Warren's fleet. Considering the situation hopeless, the French commander on June 16 requested a suspension of hostilities, and on the following day, June 17, 1745, after a siege of seven weeks, Louisbourg surrendered.

All the bells in Boston were set ringing when word arrived that Louisbourg was taken. The streets were as crowded as on election day; and at night the townspeople continued the celebration with fireworks and bonfires, while lamps and candles flickered at every window. Many, and no doubt interminable, were the thanksgiving sermons preached.[41] In London, the news was announced by the firing of the Park and Tower guns, and "the joy of the city," in the words of Christopher Kilby, "was expressed by a general illumination, with bonfires and an excess of all the usual concomitants." [42] Nor was royal approbation wanting. As a mark of applause and reward of merit King George commissioned William Pepperrell colonel in command of a regiment in the regular army and conferred upon him a baronetcy. Thus the Kittery merchant who had begun as the junior member of Messrs. William Pepperrell, Merchants at Piscataqua, now became Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet.

41 Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–109.

42 Christopher Kilby to Wm. Pepperrell, [London], Aug. 10, 1745, MeHS MSS., Book II.

⚓ CHAPTER IX

Ebb Tide

⚓ THE sound of rejoicing had scarcely died away when William discovered that the lot of a victorious general was not altogether a happy one. The tendency to evaluate their respective contributions to victory in terms of sacrifices made and hardships endured blinded the provincials to the part played by the sea forces. Young Captain Waldron, writing to his father that there was "no harmony between marine officers and New England ones," said that it was because the latter "stand on what they have done, and the others on what they are—men with the King's Commission." [1]

The situation was aggravated by a certain amount of confusion attending the surrender of the city. Being not too well versed in the minutiae of military procedure, William demanded the keys to the city and proposed to march in before the capitulation was fully and properly ratified. Warren, to whom the French governor protested, pointed out to William the irregularity of such a course and mentioned his fear that William's haste arose from a "kind of jealousy." The imputation was, however, merely a cat's-paw rippling over Warren's mind; his chief concern was to have the proprieties of the occasion observed religiously.[2] However, back in New England there were a number of no doubt well-intentioned busybodies, among them Nathaniel Sparhawk, who kept advising William not to let himself be pushed into the background by Warren.

[1] T. W. Waldron to Richard Waldron, July 9, 1745, University of Michigan, Clements Library MS. Colls., Louisbourg Papers.

[2] The exchange of correspondence is in McLennan, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–180, and Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–101.

Their fears, founded partly on such reports as Captain Waldron's, magnified the surrender incident many times. Governor Shirley added his voice to the rumors and wrote William that "in the midst of this joy it is no small damp to me to find that Mr. Warren designs to take upon himself the chief command on shore." [3]

Of more potential detriment to William, however, were the charges that he displayed undue partiality in his treatment of the troops. A little more than a week after the surrender had taken place, Captain Waldron's father informed William that Governor Wentworth had forwarded to Shirley a complaint received from Louisbourg in which William was charged with "injustice" to the New Hampshire men. Waldron, as much a political opponent of Wentworth as he was a friend of William Pepperrell and with some hope that William would supplant Wentworth as Governor, as one of the rewards of victory, pointedly criticized the latter for the way he handled the matter.[4] A somewhat similar complaint against William was brought before the Massachusetts House of Representatives by Colonel Hale, commanding the Essex County Regiment. Hale accused the general of detaining his regimental surgeon on board the hospital vessel and claimed that the sick and wounded of the regiment went unattended as a result. Nathaniel Sparhawk, taking an extremely serious view of the matter, sent a copy of the complaint to William, who wrote a spirited denial to Thomas Cushing, the Speaker of the House.[5]

In the meantime William faced a very real and pressing problem at Louisbourg. Having accomplished what they had set out to do, the troops had no other thought than to return to their homes. William shared their feeling, and in the first four weeks following the surrender about seven hundred men were discharged from the service, a procedure that caused Warren much uneasiness.[6] The latter's apprehension was soon substantiated by the continued ab-

[3] Wm. Shirley to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, July 7, 1745, Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* Ser. 6, X (1899), 322–324.

[4] Richard Waldron to Wm. Pepperrell, Portsmouth, June 28, 1745, *ibid.,* pp. 296–297; same to same, July 20, 1745, *ibid.,* p. 337.

[5] Nathaniel Sparhawk to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, July 17, 1745, *ibid.,* pp. 331–333; Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Cushing, Louisbourg, Aug. 9, 1745, *ibid.,* pp. 354–355.

[6] Peter Warren to Wm. Pepperrell, Louisbourg, July 16, 1745, *ibid.,* pp. 327–329; Pepperrell to Warren, Louisbourg, July 18, 1745, *ibid.,* pp. 333–335.

sence of any news concerning relief from England and by the refusal of New Englanders to volunteer for garrison duty. Although he longed to return home himself, William was forced to reproach the men for wanting to leave. Captain Waldron, who had been trying to make up his mind whether to stay on, now found he had no choice. He wrote his father on July 26 that the general had told the men that they would have to remain until spring and make the best of it. "Thus, Sir," continued Waldron, "you see how the laws and liberty of men are explained away." [7] A few days later William received explicit instructions from Shirley not to dismiss any more men except those from "the most exposed eastern parts." Already disappointed at the lack of plunder and dissatisfied with their pay, and now discouraged at the prospect of being detained on garrison duty, a number of the troops threatened to lay down their arms.[8]

Shirley hastened to Louisbourg and appeased the soldiers with a promise of higher pay.[9] By the end of September most of the unpleasant aftermath of the victory had been cleared away. William's protests that "the land and sea have agreed in this expedition as well as they ever did on like occasion," that most of the disagreement existed only in the minds of those who wished to see a falling out between the general and the commodore, and similar assurances on Warren's part allayed the feelings of oversensitive New Englanders, until a crop of supernationalist historians and filial apologists sprang up a century later. The complaints of unfair treatment were apparently explained away or ignored; and the concern of William's friends lest New England and the general be slighted by the government at home was quieted by the news of his rewards.

William—or Sir William, as he must now be called—remained at Louisbourg until June, 1746. When Commodore Warren's commission as military governor arrived, the two commanders sailed for Boston, where, after sharing with Warren the official thanks of

[7] T. W. Waldron to Richard Waldron, Louisbourg, July 26, 1745, University of Michigan, Clements Library MS. Colls., Louisbourg Papers.

[8] Wm. Shirley to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, July 29, 1745, Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* Ser. 6, X (1899), 338–342; Pepperrell to Shirley, Louisbourg, Aug. 6, 1745, *ibid.,* pp. 347–351; records of the council of war, Louisbourg, Sept. 17, 1745, *ibid.,* pp. 45–46.

[9] Records of the council of war, Louisbourg, Oct. 2, 1745, *ibid.,* pp. 46–47.

the province, Sir William resumed his seat at the Council board.[10]

During the winter, while Sir William and Commodore Warren were jointly administering the affairs of Louisbourg, Shirley, encouraged by the success of that expedition, had been pressing for the conquest of Canada. In its final form, as approved by the ministry at home, the plan provided for an expedition of four thousand regular troops, under the leadership of an English general, supported by a naval force under Warren.[11] That Sir William was to be excused from taking an active part in the campaign was welcome news to his family. Ill-health had prevented Lady Pepperrell from joining her husband at Louisbourg. Though Madam Warren and the wives of other officers had gone to be with their husbands, Lady Pepperrell had stayed at home seeing to it that Sir William was kept supplied with clean shirts and his favorite tea. The separation had been hard to endure, especially with plans afoot for another expedition.[12] But with his new command, the Fifty-first Regiment of Foot, ordered to remain on garrison duty at Louisbourg, Sir William could once more be with his family in Kittery. Nevertheless, some fears still remained in Lady Pepperrell's mind that William would be persuaded to go along without his regiment. While he was in Boston, in mid-summer, she wrote to him on the subject: "I hope, my dear, that as you will advise in the affair of the Canidy expedition you will be directed for the best, but beg you will not be prevailed with to give your promise to go; for I cannot bear the thought of parting with you to proceed on such a dangerous enterprise." [13] By September, William had discarded whatever thoughts he once might have had in this direction, for he was not feeling well enough even to go to Boston for the opening session of the General Court. Furthermore, serious doubts were arising whether the invasion would ever take place.[14]

When the undertaking was finally abandoned, Sir William

[10] Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 140–142. [11] Wood, *op. cit.*, chap. xv.

[12] Wm. Pepperrell to Mary Pepperrell, Louisbourg, Sept. 11, 1745, in H. S. Burrage, *Maine at Louisbourg in 1745* (Augusta, Me., 1910), pp. 99–100; Nathaniel Sparhawk to Andrew Pepperrell, Boston, June 2, 1746, in Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

[13] Mary Pepperrell to Wm. Pepperrell, Kittery, July 31, 1746, ["A true copy" taken from the original in 1823], Watkins Papers (Mrs. W. B. Watkins, Berryville, Va.).

[14] Wm. Pepperrell to Gen. Waldo, Sept. 4, 1746, in Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 153; Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

turned his attention to the affairs of his regiment and to a number of matters that had their origin in the Louisbourg expedition. As the province was now petitioning the privy council for reimbursement of the costs of that expedition, Sir William and Commodore Warren were called upon to examine all the accounts, to check the vouchers and orders, and to certify their truth and accuracy. This they did, assuring the Lords of Trade that the expedition had been "conducted with great frugality." [15]

William was also superintending the construction of one of the 44-gun frigates then being built in New England for the Royal Navy. Nathaniel Meserve of Portsmouth agreed to build the ship after three "gentlemen of probity, skill and judgment in shipbuilding" had set £9 per ton as a fair price.[16] Knowing, perhaps, that the Navy Board held a poor opinion of American-built vessels, William, when he forwarded the contract for their approval, assured the Commissioners that Meserve was laying in the best of materials. The quality of the timber and plank, he wrote, "is a point I have very much at heart." [17] Twice a week, until the arrival of an inspector, William climbed into his eight-oared barge to visit the shipyard, three miles up the harbor, "to see that the timber was sound and well-worked." [18] The *America,* as the frigate was named, was nevertheless condemned for decay soon after her arrival in England.[19] The fact that Meserve, "at the desire of Rear-Admiral Knowles, made her some feet longer by the keel than the contract" perhaps contributed, however, to the *America*'s early demise.[20]

During his absence at Louisbourg, Sir William had neglected his political fences back home. He spoke rather disparagingly, during the siege, of officers whose thoughts dwelt on their chances of election to the General Court, and in a moment of discouragement and weariness he told Captain Waldron that he had no desire ever to sit on the Council again.[21] Several members of the General Court

[15] Massachusetts expenditures for Louisbourg expedition, Report of Lords of Trade to King, April 7, 1747, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XX, Nos. 380–388.

[16] Wm. Pepperrell to Benning Wentworth, March, 1747, in Parsons, *op. cit.,* p. 161.

[17] Wm. Pepperrell to the Commissioners of the Navy, June 3, 1747, MHS MSS.

[18] Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Corbett, Sept. 12, 17—[illegible], MeHS MSS., Book II.

[19] Albion, *Forests and Sea Power,* p. 245.

[20] Wm. Pepperrell to Thomas Corbett, cited in note 18 above.

[21] T. W. Waldron to Richard Waldron, the camp before Louisbourg, June 6, 1745, University of Michigan, Clements Library MS. Colls., Louisbourg Papers.

would have been glad to further Sir William's desire in this respect. For in awarding the contract for supplying the garrison to Nathaniel Sparhawk and Charles Apthorp, Warren and Sir William had displeased a number of the members who thought that the General Court, and not the two commanders, were the proper ones to appoint the contractor. There was some talk in Boston, in the spring of 1746, that on this account Sir William would lose his place on the Council.[22] William's prestige brought him through safely, but a possible repercussion was the defeat of Nathaniel Sparhawk for re-election to the House in the following year.

Sparhawk had served two terms, in 1745 and 1746, and was expected to retain his seat. As election day approached, however, his friends were chagrined to find that the appearance of a rival, in the person of Simon Frost, made it necessary for them to put forth their utmost efforts. The elder Waldo, writing to Andrew Pepperrell, ascribed Frost's candidacy to Boston influences; but he thought that Sir William, if he made a point of it, could "easily" carry the election not only in Kittery but also in York, Wells, and Berwick.[23] Evidently Sir William did not exert himself sufficiently, for Simon Frost was Kittery's representative for the next three years.[24]

During all this time much of Sir William's attention was occupied with regimental affairs. Recruiting was a constant vexation. Colonials could be stirred to enthusiasm by a homespun crusade against the French, but only with great difficulty could they be persuaded to enlist in a royal regiment. English officers, who made up more than half the officer complement of William's regiment, were useless for recruiting purposes.[25] American officers found it good duty and sometimes showed little disposition to return to their post at Louisbourg. Furthermore, William had to compete for recruits with Governor Shirley, who had likewise been given command of a regiment.[26] On the other hand, William was deluged with requests

[22] Samuel Waldo, Jr., to [his father], Boston, May 3, 1746, Boston Public Library MS. Colls., miscellaneous papers, No. F-1-50.

[23] Samuel Waldo to Andrew Pepperrell, Boston, May 18, 1747, in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XIX (1865), 227–228.

[24] Kittery Town Records, Book II.

[25] Wm. Pepperrell to Adm. Charles Knowles, March 6, 1747, in Parsons, *op. cit.,* pp. 155–158; Samuel Waldo, Jr., to [his father], cited in note 22 above.

[26] Wm. Pepperrell to Lt. Nathan Whiting, Boston, Nov. 23, 1747, Boston Public

for commissions and had to tread warily to avoid giving offense. As it was, General Wolcott, who had commanded the Connecticut troops at Louisbourg, seems to have insinuated that William ought to have rewarded more Connecticut and New Hampshire men with commissions; and Peter Warren, now promoted to admiral, kept a jealous watch over the career of his nephew, Warren Johnson, a lieutenant in the regiment.[27] William's lieutenant colonel turned out to be a rascal and was subsequently cashiered for juggling commissions, one of which appears to have been that of Warren's nephew. Until the proper chain of precedence was re-established, some coolness existed on the part of Warren towards Sir William.[28]

In the meantime a complaint against Sir William had been lodged with the Secretary for War by a number of officers. Although no formal charges were preferred, wrote Christopher Kilby to William, "both yours and Governor Shirley's reputation stands impeached with the Secretary of War, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Duke of Cumberland . . . for selling commissions, availing yourselves of the vacant pay of the officers appointed long after the establishment of the Regiment, and . . . [for showing] partiality to some officers in prejudice to others." [29] The whole thing shortly reduced itself to a dispute concerning the officers' pay, in which Sir William's view was completely upheld, and his reputation vindicated, by the Secretary for War.[30]

Partly as a result of the aspersions cast upon his character, Sir William, during the fall of 1748, began to express his thought of visiting England, and immediately conjectures that he was to be given the governorship of this or that province began to fly about. It was reported in Boston that he was to succeed Shirley as Governor of Massachusetts; at Piscataqua it was rumored that Maine was to

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Library MS. Colls., No. G-33-49; Wm. Pepperrell to Lt. Andrew Watkins, March 16, 1747, Watkins Papers, Berryville, Va.

[27] Wm. Pepperrell to Gen. Wolcott, Aug. 19, 1746, in Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–152; Peter Warren to Wm. Pepperrell, Portsmouth, England, April 2, 1747, *ibid.*, pp. 164–165.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 159–160, 168; memorandum of commissions filled at Louisbourg, Maine State Library, Augusta, Me., Pepperrell docs.; Christopher Kilby to Wm. Pepperrell, Spring Garden, Jan. 13, 1748, MeHS MSS., Book II.

[29] Christopher Kilby to Wm. Pepperrell, Jan. 13, 1748, cited in note 28 above.

[30] Wm. Pepperrell to Capt. Blayney, in Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–180; Wm. Pepperrell to Lt. Col. Mercer, Feb. 19, 1748, *ibid.*, pp. 181–182; *ibid.*, pp. 182, 184, 185.

be separated from Massachusetts with Sir William as Governor; and in Portsmouth the anti-Wentworth faction drew up a petition asking that Wentworth be replaced by Sir William Pepperrell.[31] William gave no active encouragement to the rumors, but neither did he say that he would refuse a governorship if one were offered. To a friend in England who had expressed the wish that he would receive an appointment, he wrote somewhat deprecatingly: "You know I am a West-Countryman and they dislike to put such men in for governors." [32] He went to England in the fall of 1749. His regimental agent, Christopher Kilby, and his old comrade-in-arms, Peter Warren, gave him a cordial welcome. He was "elegantly entertained" at a dinner by General Oglethorpe and the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The Lord Mayor of London, on behalf of the corporation of the city, presented him with a silver dinner service and a silver-topped plateau. The Prince of Wales and other noblemen, as Usher Parsons says, "bestowed upon him many civilities." [33] He made his appearance at court. When King George expressed a desire to grant him some further favor, according to the story, William replied that protection for the New England fisheries was the chief favor he had to ask.[34] After a year of being something of a lion he took ship for America on one of Andrew Pepperrell's schooners. On October 9, 1750, forty-two days out of Plymouth, the schooner entered the harbor at Piscataqua, and as she passed the fort on New Castle, an eleven-gun salute rang out to welcome Sir William home.[35]

His holiday over, his regiment disbanded, and Louisbourg returned to the French, William, feeling somewhat that his past services had already been forgotten, planned to spend the rest of

[31] James [?] Winslow to Andrew Pepperrell, Boston, Oct. 3, 1748, MeHS MSS., Book I; Nathaniel Sparhawk to Wm. Pepperrell, March 8, 1750, in Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–219; Nathaniel Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 188–189.

[32] Wm. Pepperrell to Peter Kenwood, Aug. 29, 1749, quoted in Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–209.

[33] Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[34] *London Magazine,* July, 1750, p. 331; William Gould, *Portland in the Past* (Portland, Me., 1886), pp. 236–237.

[35] Wm. Pepperrell to Peter Warren, Spring Garden, July 31, 1750, in Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 223; Christopher Kilby to Wm. Pepperrell, Sept. 19, 1750, MeHS MSS., Book II; Benning Wentworth to Wm. Pepperrell, Little Harbor, Oct. 9, 1750, University of Michigan, Clements Library MS. Colls., Louisbourg Papers.

his life as the squire of Kittery. As he modestly put it: "I have reason to be thankful my lands will maintain me, and I shall endeavor to live a retired life." [36] The old house that had once served as a place of refuge in the Indian wars had by this time become a pleasant country seat, surrounded by its gardens and orchards and deer park. Inside the house, on the lovely wainscoted walls, hung more than fifty portraits of Pepperrells and their friends. On William's library shelves could be found the works of Dean Swift, Pope's translation of the *Iliad,* Daniel Neal's *History of New England,* sermons by Gilbert and William Tennent and Isaac Watts, and numerous annotations on the Bible. There was a set of Chambers' *Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences.* Among the volumes that might be considered the tools of William's various trades were a number of lawbooks and an old volume entitled *A Short Introduction in the Art of Navigation,* which, within its wooden covers, contained charts and maps and sailing directions for most of the better-known seas. Young Andrew had come home from Harvard College with a number of books on astronomy and mathematics and an interesting volume by one Mathias Prideaux, entitled *Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading All Sorts of Histories,* and these stood on the shelves along with his father's copy of *A Compleat History of the Turks.* Joseph Addison and Richard Steele were well represented by several volumes of the *Spectator* and the *Tatler* and by two volumes of the *Guardian.*[37] There is perhaps a clue here to the political sentiments of the Pepperrells, and certainly an indication of their tastes. In the matter of externals at least, Sir William's way of life was a little closer to what Addison had idealized in the person of Sir Roger de Coverley, Bart., than to the one that Samuel Sewall and Cotton Mather lived. Even in retirement William must have had little time to spend in the pure enjoyment of reading; for, besides his public duties and the management of his estates, he had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances with whom he corresponded. Among them were numbered George Whitefield

[36] Wm. Pepperrell to Peter Kenwood, Oct. 29, 1750, in Parsons, *op. cit.,* p. 225; and on the same subject, Wm. Pepperrell to Silas Hooper [undated], *ibid.,* p. 213.

[37] After the death of Sir William his books were given to the Rev. Benjamin Stevens, minister of the church at Kittery Point, to be used for a parish and ministerial library. About one hundred volumes of the Pepperrell library still remain, locked in a closet of the Old Parsonage.

and Jonathan Edwards, Christopher Kilby, Samuel Waldo, Peter Warren, and others. To his old friend Jonathan Belcher, who had been given the governorship of New Jersey and who was soliciting contributions for the newly opened college at Princeton, William generously wrote that he considered Belcher's every desire a command. His gift to the college was a substantial one. To Richard Waldron, leader of the anti-Wentworth faction in New Hampshire, he wrote very circumspectly of the political dissensions in that province and refused to be an active candidate for the governorship.

On his return from London, William had definitely no thought of resuming his mercantile career. In reply to inquiries he recommended his son Andrew as his successor and sometimes mentioned that his son-in-law Nathaniel Sparhawk would be glad to receive consignments. The latter had taken full advantage of the wartime boom and his connection with Sir William to acquire new vessels and extend his trade. English imports, which during the French war fetched record prices in the colonies, were a major interest of Colman and Sparhawk, and a contract for supplying the Louisbourg garrison had been a profitable source of sterling exchange.[38] Of Andrew Pepperrell's activities only tantalizing glimpses are revealed. Early in 1745 he was co-owner, with his father, of the schooner *Charming Molly,* and at the very end of the year the brand-new snow *Hannah* was registered under the ownership of William and Andrew Pepperrell. By the end of 1747 William's name had disappeared from the ownership listings in the records of the naval office at Piscataqua; and for the next three years and a half Andrew was recorded as sole owner of all the Pepperrell vessels. He confined himself pretty much to the trades in which his father had been engaged on the eve of the war.[39] An occasional ramification developed, however. In the summer of 1745 the *Charming Molly* and the sloop *Pursue* went to Louisbourg, and the next year Andrew sent three vessels there; but the opportunities for private trading at Louisbourg were extremely limited and easily

[38] Boston customs clearances, 1744–1748, Boston Athenaeum MSS.; Wm. Pepperrell and Peter Warren, in account with Apthorp and Sparhawk, 1748–1749, University of Michigan, Clements Library MS. Colls., Warren Papers.

[39] Andrew Pepperrell's account with Samuel Solly, collector of H.M. Customs, 1745–1749, Wildes Papers (in possession of J. W. P. Frost, Kittery Point); Andrew Pepperrell's account with Capt. Joseph Frost, 1751, *ibid.*

monopolized by whoever had the contract for supplying the garrison. He soon turned back to the Newfoundland trade, in which he had the help and encouragement of John Bradstreet, recently appointed lieutenant governor. By this time the Newfoundland trade had become a one-way business. Instead of returning with a miscellaneous assortment of goods like those of earlier days, the vessels that Andrew sent to Newfoundland returned in ballast. The cutlery and pewter and other English goods which he continued to send to the southern colonies, and which had formerly been obtained, at least in part, from Newfoundland, were now coming mostly by way of Boston or direct from England. A trend in this direction had appeared a decade earlier, in the late 1730's. During the war Andrew seems to have met with some reverses. One of them was the loss of the brigantine *Andrew and Elizabeth,* in the spring of 1745, apparently while under his direction; but whatever losses he had suffered in vessels and trade were quickly recouped. By 1750 he was managing the operations of at least seven and possibly ten vessels.[40] If fewer in number than the Pepperrell vessels of twenty years before, they were newer and larger. If the pattern of trade was slightly more circumscribed than it had sometimes been, it was merely that Andrew was following what had always been the general pattern, but without its variants.

Andrew had every prospect of a bright future in the world of trade. "His interest sent abroad is safe," his father wrote to Samuel Waldo in 1748. "He has upwards of £30,000, old tenor, in trade; . . . wharves, warehouses, etc., fitted to his hand," continued Sir William, "and if he behave himself well, as long as I am able I shall be doing for him." [41] In addition, Andrew had laid out "upwards of £10,000" in a new house, and besides all this his father had given him £28,000. The reason for Andrew's housebuilding and for

[40] In addition to the accounts and customs records cited in notes 38 and 39, see John Bradstreet to Andrew Pepperrell, St. John's, Aug. 1, 1748, MeHS MSS., Book II; Colman and Sparhawk to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, May 1, 1745, Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* Ser. 6, X (1899), 133–135; and memorandum of bills brought from Newfoundland in the brigantine *Scarboro,* [1749], J. W. P. Frost Papers, Kittery Point.

[41] Wm. Pepperell to Samuel Waldo, March 15, 1748, in Parsons, *op. cit.,* pp. 195–196.

Samuel Waldo's interest in Andrew's financial standing was, as Waldo put it, a "proposed alliance" between the two families.

Not long after his graduation from Harvard College in 1743, where his social position had placed him ahead of everyone else in his class except Foster Hutchinson, Andrew had made an offer of marriage to Hannah Waldo, Samuel's daughter. Hannah was willing, and the parents of both approved, but for one reason or another Andrew found it impossible to agree on a wedding date and kept putting it off for more than four years. Early in 1750 a date was finally set. Then, a few days before the wedding, Andrew wrote to Hannah asking that it be again postponed. The patient Hannah had endured too much. Waiting until, on the appointed day, the wedding party was all assembled, she announced that the ceremony was to be postponed once more, and this time permanently. Six weeks later she married Thomas Fluker, secretary of the province.[42]

The embarrassment which the affair brought upon Sir William and Lady Pepperrell was followed in less than a year by a crushing blow. Returning from a party in Portsmouth one winter's eve, Andrew took cold and developed what his father called a "nervous fever." For ten days he lay ill in the house overlooking the harbor. On the first of March, 1751, Andrew died, and was buried in the family vault over against the Great Orchard.[43] There was no one left now to carry on the name of Pepperrell.

For some months William was unable to attend to any of his duties. Early in June he wrote to the General Court requesting the postponement of a hearing in which he was to appear, explaining that "the dispensations of Divine Province towards me and my family . . . render it almost impracticable for me to attend my duty in this affair or the more important affairs of the Province 'till my mind is in some greater measure relieved." [44] He excused himself, in spite of the urgings of Secretary Willard and Lieutenant Governor Phipps, from conducting the treaty conference with the

[42] Parsons, *op. cit.,* pp. 192–200, 218–223, 226–227. Years later the daughter of Hannah and Thomas Fluker became the wife of the Revolutionary general, Henry Knox.

[43] Wm. Pepperrell to Peter Warren, April 26, 1751, in Parsons, *op. cit.,* p. 236.

[44] Petition of Sir Wm. Pepperrell to General Court, June 6, 1751, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. CXV, No. 871.

Indians at St. George's in July.[45] As the end of the year approached, however, he began to pick up the loose threads of his private affairs and public duties.

Two or three years before, Lady Pepperrell's nephew, Charles Chauncy, a son of the noted Boston minister, had come to Kittery and joined in Andrew Pepperrell's business undertakings.[46] After the latter's death the larger part of the load probably fell on Chauncy's shoulders. In November, 1751, he and Sir William sent the brigantine *Kittery* to Cadiz with a cargo of fish and lumber. The fish was found to be of poor quality and it sold for only 22½ *reales de plata* per quintal instead of the 28 *reales* it would have fetched had it been better. Before the goods were delivered, a hurricane drove the brigantine on the *Puercas,* one of the rocky reefs at the mouth of the harbor, and the vessel was lost with all her fish cargo and most of her lumber.[47] A few months later another cargo of fish arrived at Cadiz in such poor condition that part of it was flung overboard "by order of the Governor." [48] In the fall and winter of 1753–1754 Sir William had four or five vessels at Cadiz. One of them was the *Centaur,* which was "runaway with" by her master, Captain Snow, and another was the schooner *Betsey,* commanded by Captain Robert Oram.[49]

Captain Oram's voyage accounts reveal that Sir William was not being too scrupulous about observing the English navigation laws. Kemp, Pickern and Company, his factors at Cadiz, were dismayed to find two barrels of tobacco in the *Betsey*'s cargo. "Tobacco is prohibited," they wrote William, "and none but the King can deal in it, and [we] would not have you send any more; was a single pound met with coming out of a vessel it would be sufficient to confiscate her." [50] That it was also one of the products enumerated in

[45] Spencer Phipps to Wm. Pepperrell, Cambridge, July 13, 1751, *ibid.,* Vol. XXXII, No. 157; Josiah Willard to Wm. Pepperrell, [same date], *ibid.,* No. 157A; [Wm. Pepperrell] to Sec. Willard, July 19, 1751, MHS MSS.

[46] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* X (1856), 336.

[47] Kemp, Pickern & Co. to Wm. Pepperrell, Cadiz, Feb. 24, 1752, MeHS MSS., Book I; Kemp, Pickern & Co. to Charles Chauncy, Cadiz, Feb. 24, 1752, *ibid.,* Book II.

[48] Kemp, Pickern & Co. to Wm. Pepperrell, Cadiz, Jan. 30, 1754, MeHS MSS., Book I. They informed William that no insurance could be recovered, for "unless there's a total loss no insurance is paid on fish."

[49] Kemp, Pickern & Co. to Wm. Pepperrell, Cadiz, March 30, 1754, *ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*

the Navigation Act of 1660 was not a matter of great concern to Kemp, Pickern and Company. The profit on the tobacco, after Kemp, Pickern and Company had paid "extraordinary charges making the manifest current in the Custom House on account of two barrels of tobacco, two guards assistance aboard and charges bringing it ashore," was almost exactly equal to the sales price of four pine planks.[51] Furthermore, a considerable portion of the schooner's return cargo consisted of prohibited goods. It was nothing new for William to be illegally exporting a small quantity of enumerated goods, but the *Betsey*'s return cargo is the first clear evidence of his shipping goods direct from Spain in violation of the laws. The schooner loaded 32½ "lasts" of salt, which was entirely legal. The rest of her cargo, however, consisted of 100 boxes of lemons, 20 barrels of raisins, and 32 jars of olives, 6 quarter casks and 2 jars of oil, 7 casks of sherry, and 20 dozen silk handkerchiefs, all of which should have gone to America only by way of England. The return cargo of the *Betsey* cost only 7500 *reales*. The balance that remained from the net proceeds of the goods landed at Cadiz, amounting to 10,700 *reales,* was paid over to Captain Oram.[52]

There is little to indicate the nature of Sir William's trade elsewhere. He corresponded with Barbados, by way of Boston, and continued to deal in rum; but it might have been New England rum. In the spring of 1753 one of his sloops arrived at Piscataqua with a cargo, apparently a full cargo, of bread, flour, and bar iron that had been taken on at Philadelphia.[53]

On March 1, 1753, William Tyler of Boston wrote Sir William that he was sending four barrels of Connecticut pork to Kittery, and he added the following postscript: "There is a great deal of talk about war as you'll see by news-papers." [54] Twelve months later an encounter between Virginia militia and French troops on the western slopes of the Alleghenies ushered in "the Great War for the British Empire." The aging conqueror of Louisbourg lived to see Jeffrey Amherst repeat his exploit, but for Sir William the war was an anticlimax.

[51] Schooner *Betsey,* account of sales, Cadiz, March 30, 1754, *ibid.*

[52] Schooner *Betsey,* Capt. Robert Oram's account, Cadiz, March 30, 1754, *ibid.*

[53] Wm. Tyler to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, Feb. 25, 1754, *ibid.;* John and George Mifflin to Wm. Pepperrell, invoice, April 14, 1753, Philadelphia, NEHG MSS., Book II.

[54] Wm. Tyler to Wm. Pepperrell, Boston, May 1, 1753, MeHS MSS., Book I.

After Dinwiddie's failure to cut the French cordon at the Ohio, Governor Shirley reappeared in the role that he had played so successfully ten years before. This time his expedition was directed against the French forts at the head of the Bay of Fundy, Forts Beauséjour and Gaspereau, which protected land communications between Louisbourg and Quebec and were a menace to Nova Scotia. But this time an officer of the regular army, Lieutenant Colonel Monckton, was placed in command, while the provincial volunteers were led by Lieutenant Colonel John Winslow of the Massachusetts militia.[55] When Major General Braddock arrived in America with instructions to move against the French on the Ohio, the Niagara, at Crown Point, and at Beauséjour, Shirley was able to present him with an already matured plan of operations for the Nova Scotia campaign and with proposals for an expedition against Crown Point as well. Both Shirley and Sir William Pepperrell had again been commissioned colonels, and their old regiments revived. For the Crown Point expedition Shirley proposed the use of his own regiment and a force of colonial volunteers, which he had taken steps to raise, and recommended Colonel William Johnson of New York as commander.[56] Braddock in the meantime, however, had envisaged a separate campaign against Niagara to be conducted by Shirley with his and Sir William's regiments. At a conference with General Braddock and the governors of Virginia, Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania, held at Alexandria in early April, Shirley had the satisfaction of seeing the arrangements that he had made for the Nova Scotia and Crown Point expeditions unanimously approved. And on April 16 he received his orders from Braddock to take command of Sir William Pepperrell's regiment and, with his own, to proceed against the French forts at the Strait of Niagara.[57]

Sir William had no part in formulating the strategy of the war. Later, after the disasters of the first three years and the "repudia-

[55] Gipson, *op. cit.*, VI, 212–233.

[56] Wm. Shirley to the General Court of Massachusetts, Feb. 13, 1755, in Lincoln, ed., *op. cit.*, II, 127–130; Wm. Shirley to James Delancey, Boston, Feb. 24, 1755, *ibid.*, pp. 133–138.

[57] Gipson, *op. cit.*, VI, 70–71, 131; Gen. Braddock's instructions to Col. Wm. Shirley, camp at Alexandria, April 16, 1755, MeHS MSS., Book II.

tion" of Shirley, he wrote to his Devonshire friend Peter Kenwood: "I never have been consulted, nor has my advice been asked by Governor Shirley nor any of the commanding officers during this war; so I chose to be silent." [58]

Except for a brief flurry of activity in the mid-summer of 1757, when the fall of Fort William Henry struck panic throughout western Massachusetts and sent Sir William to Springfield with a large part of the militia, William watched from the sidelines. Although troubled with lameness and ill-health, he had hoped to lead his regiment to Niagara in 1755. But when in June both he and Shirley were promoted to major general, Braddock wrote the latter that "as Sir William Pepperrell is made a Major-General he cannot take the field as Colonel to his regiment with any propriety." Had he foreseen this, Braddock intimated, he would have chosen to give Sir William the command against Crown Point; but "as he is now a Major-General in the King's Army," continued Braddock, "a command of those Provincial troops would be inconsistent with his rank." [59] William returned from New York, where he had been ordered to establish his regimental headquarters, and resumed his duties as a councilor. With the War Department and his regimental agent in London he carried on an extensive correspondence dealing with the old problems of recruiting, the negotiability of some of the bills drawn for the regiment, and the difficulty of obtaining supplies. One of his letters to Henry Fox, the Secretary of War, is of interest as expressing, only a month after Braddock's defeat, the view that the disaster would have been averted by a greater reliance on colonial troops.[60] Indeed, William would trust none but New England troops. They are, he wrote, "the only fit men to meet a mixed army of French and Indians in the woods; at least, in order for success, the English forces must consist in some measure of our New England officers and men, who are acquainted with their manner of fighting, and can deal with them in their own way; and I think that if General Braddock had had a regiment or two of our

[58] Wm. Pepperrell to Peter Kenwood, Feb. 7, 1758, in Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 306–308.

[59] Wm. Pepperrell to Gov. Shirley, New York, May 16, 1755, MeHS MSS., Book II; same to same, New York, June 8, 1755, *ibid.;* Gen. Braddock to Gen. Shirley, June 22, 1755, *ibid.;* same to same, June 23, 1755, *ibid.*

[60] For a discussion of this "tradition," see Gipson, *op. cit.*, VI, 13.

people with him under the command of suitable officers, to clear the woods of the enemy, he would have marched safely with his regular troops to the Ohio." [61]

When toward the end of the year the Niagara and Crown Point campaigns bogged down and Johnson resigned his command, Sir William thought his opportunity "to thrash the French" had finally come. However, after giving William the impression that the Crown Point command was definitely his, Shirley appointed Colonel Winslow, who had played an important part in the taking of Beauséjour and Gaspereau. William could not conceal his disappointment and resentment, nor could he hide his feeling that inexperienced commanders and Shirley's poor management were responsible for the fall of Oswego and for the other military reverses of the past year.[62]

When it became evident that he was to be ignored in the conduct of military affairs, William came to the reluctant conclusion that he was too old for further service. His age and spells of ill-health were no doubt partly responsible for Shirley's attitude, but the truth is that the qualities that had made William the logical choice in 1745 were now of minor importance. This was a war in which a large share of the burden was to rest on the regular army. British troops accustomed to the rigid discipline of their commanders would doubtless have interpreted William's easygoing ways as a sign of weakness. Certainly the British officers would have been shocked, as they were in 1745. Moreover, William had no great influence or advantage when it came to raising troops outside the northeastern provinces, and despite his knowledge of the eastern frontier he would have been less at home than Braddock was among the western hills and mountains. As a strategist William could have contributed very little, for he seems to have considered the war as one of defending the frontiers of New England.

By the fall of 1758 William could take a brighter view of matters. The high regard in which he stood with Massachusetts' new governor, Thomas Pownall, made his public duties more bearable.[63] Military affairs were beginning to improve. His vessels, probably

[61] Wm. Pepperrell to Henry Fox, Aug. 19, 1755, in Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 287–288.

[62] Wm. Pepperrell to Major Craven, Boston, March 1, 1756, Boston Public Library MS. Colls., miscellaneous papers, No. 413; Wm. Pepperrell to Henry Fox, April 19, 1756, in Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–294; Wm. Pepperrell to Peter Kenwood, *ibid.*, p. 295.

[63] Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 298, 300–304.

managed by Charles Chauncy, had continued to carry on a certain amount of trade throughout the war. One of the six Piscataqua clearances listed in the first issue of Daniel Fowle's *New Hampshire Gazette,* on Thursday, October 7, 1756, had been William Pepperrell's schooner *Hound,* Robert Oram, master, bound for Fayal. The next year William's friend Christopher Kilby, who was now "agent-victualler" of the army in North America, managed to get a government charter for one of William's schooners. Familiar names —Captain Moore, the two Vennards, Captain Branscombe, and Robert Oram—all of them masters of Pepperrell vessels, frequently appeared in the *Gazette*'s marine news.[64]

On the other hand, by the fall of 1758 William's health was failing, and he began the solemn task of making the final disposition of his mundane affairs. He inserted several notices in the *Gazette* instructing all persons indebted to him or with demands upon him "forthwith to come and settle" their accounts.[65] Soon afterwards he began offering some of his lands for sale, and in January he drew up his "last will and testament." The next month, in February, 1759, almost too late, came William's last worldly honor, a commission as lieutenant general in the regular army. As he had been the first native-born American to be created baronet, so he was the first to become a lieutenant general in the British Army; but he had not long to enjoy the honor. Early in May, Governor Pownall paid him a state visit and found him lying "very dangerously ill." [66] For two months more he endured the pain of a lingering illness. Then, on Friday, July 6, 1759, the Honorable Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., Lieutenant General of His Majesty's Forces and Colonel of His 51st Regiment of Foot, died greatly lamented. With him, Messrs. William Pepperrell, Merchants at Piscataqua, also passed away, almost unnoticed.

In his will Sir William had tried to circumvent the fates that had deprived him of an heir. He left his entire residuary estate to his thirteen-year-old grandson William Pepperrell Sparhawk, on condition that he drop the name of Sparhawk; and on the death of

[64] *New Hampshire Gazette,* No. 1, Oct. 7, 1756, and subsequent issues; Christopher Kilby to Wm. Pepperrell, Greenwich, N.Y., July 4, 1757, MHS MSS.

[65] *New Hampshire Gazette,* No. 100, Sept. 1, 1758; Parsons, *op. cit.,* pp. 316–317.

[66] *New Hampshire Gazette,* No. 135, May 4, 1759.

William Sparhawk the inheritance was to pass to his sons and heirs "from generation to generation successively forever in fee tail." To insure that the estate would always go with the name, in case his grandson died without heirs, Sir William specified ten alternative lines of succession and stipulated in each case that the legatee must take the name of Pepperrell. To his wife, his daughter, and each of his five grandchildren he originally bequeathed £1000 sterling; but being uncertain of the exact amount of money he had in London, he revoked the money bequests to his wife and grandchildren just two days before he died and specified instead that they should inherit equal shares of whatever amount there happened to be. Other cash bequests totaled about £200. Twenty-three persons were beneficiaries to the extent of having their debts remitted. Half of all his real estate he left to his wife "to hold for the term of her natural life," and also the use of any of the household furniture, as well as the "increase" of half the livestock on all the farms, his chariot and chaise and any two of his horses, all the "wine, cyder, Spirits, Beef, pork and flour" in the house or warehouses, and any four of his Negro slaves. To his grandson and heir-designate, William Sparhawk, he bequeathed the set of plate that Admiral Warren had given him, all the portraits in the Kittery house, his gold watch, and his sword.[67] It was a long, detailed document, carefully drawn so as to keep the succession and the estate intact. About the only thing that could disturb it was a revolution.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, a merchant grandee in his own right, lost nothing by being father to the heir of the Pepperrells. For years he represented Kittery in the General Court and served as colonel of the militia. He was one of the group of wealthy merchants and worthy ministers who in 1762 organized the "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians of North America." In a list of incorporators that reads like a roll call of the Massachusets aristocracy, Nathaniel Sparhawk stood tenth in more than a hundred names, two places behind Thomas Hancock and two ahead of the Reverend Edward Holyoke, D.D., President of Harvard Col-

[67] Sargent, ed., *Maine Wills,* pp. 845–855. Lady Mary Pepperrell survived her husband by thirty years. Shortly after Sir William died, she built the house whose classic simplicity delights all those who see it. Here Lady Pepperrell lived through all the tumult of the Revolution until her death late in 1789.

lege. Like almost everyone of importance, Nathaniel was painted by John Singleton Copley. He appears in the portrait as a dapper, velvet-clad gentleman of about fifty, obviously satisfied with his place in the order of things.

Thus it was entirely fitting that William Pepperrell Sparhawk, Nathaniel's son and Sir William Pepperrell's heir, should stand at the head of the class of 1766 at Harvard, and it can be assumed that the dinner customarily given by the top-ranking man to his class was that year a sumptuous one. Not long after his graduation, William Pepperrell (as he now was) married Elizabeth Royall, daughter of Isaac Royall of Medford. He was then twenty-one years old. "A young Gentleman of good character," Thomas Hutchinson described him in 1768, in a letter of introduction written when William made a brief visit to London.[68] In 1772 William was apparently again in London, for in September of that year Lord Edgcumbe, whose claims to lands along the Kennebec had been handled at one time by Sir William Pepperrell and afterwards by Nathaniel Sparhawk, recommended William to the Earl of Dartmouth as a person with large family connections who would be more likely to support the ministry's measures if Dartmouth bestowed his favor on William. The following June the Earl of Dartmouth received another letter, this time from a minister in Massachusetts, suggesting that if a change of governors were made William Pepperrell be appointed.[69]

By this time events in Boston were rushing towards a climax. The old loyalties were losing their cohesive qualities. One faction of the populace was arrogating to itself all the virtues, political and social, by redefining them, and was employing as shibboleths what had always before been taken for granted or dismissed as irrelevant to a man's political identification. Obedience to the King and Parliament, love of country (by which one meant New England or, even more precisely, the Piscataqua region), adherence to the established order, and a jealous regard for the liberties of "free-born Englishmen" had never really been considered an incompatible

[68] Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Whately, Boston, Oct. 5, 1768, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XXV, No. 282.

[69] Transcripts of letters from the *Dartmouth Papers,* II, 97, 156, in the collection of Algernon Pepperell, Esq., of London.

mixture in the old days. Now there were men who were saying that one thing did not consist with the other. Thomas Hutchinson had seen his home wrecked by a Boston mob, and others of the "better sort" had at least their names besmirched for complying with the laws of Parliament, although Hutchinson and a few other victims of the times had in varying degree opposed their enactment. For fighting with all his might the seizure of one of his vessels, something that the first William Pepperrell had done on occasion, John Hancock became a popular hero. It was a confusing, troublesome time of strife.

In 1774 William Pepperrell was created baronet and appointed to the Governor's Council; but the pattern of things was quite different from that of his grandfather's day. Then the councilors had been appointed annually by the representatives to the General Court; now under the Massachusetts Government Act, one of the "Coercive Acts," they were to be named by the Crown, to hold office "for and during the pleasure of His Majesty." A storm of protest swept the province when copies of the Act, followed by the list of royal appointees, arrived in Boston. Of the thirty-six substantial citizens on the list for appointment to the Council, young William Pepperrell and twenty-three others agreed to serve, and immediately they found themselves stigmatized as "traitorous villains." [70] Under the threats and pressure of the Sons of Liberty all but ten of the councilors soon resigned. Those who refused to resign, and among them was the second Sir William Pepperrell, were forced to take refuge in Boston.

In Kittery, the minutes of the town meetings and the other records of the town and county reveal little of the political turmoil, partly because most of the machinery of protest and challenge was built up outside the old framework of local government. Committees and conventions sprang up everywhere. One of the new, extralegal bodies in Maine, a York County "Congress," in November, 1774, passed a resolution that began with a glowing eulogy of the first Sir William Pepperrell as a man "honored and respected in Great Britain and America for his eminent services, [who] did honestly acquire a large and extensive real estate in this country,

[70] New England's reaction to the Coercive Acts is vividly described in J. C. Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1943), pp. 369–373.

and gave the highest evidence not only of his being a sincere friend of the rights of man in general, but of having a paternal love of this country in particular." His grandson, on the other hand, continued the resolution, "hath, with purpose to carry into force acts of the British Parliament made with apparent design to enslave the free and loyal people of this continent, accepted, and now holds, a seat in the pretended board of councilors." It was resolved, therefore, that the second Sir William had "forfeited the confidence and friendship of all true friends of American liberty," and until he should resign his seat, all persons were "recommended" to withdraw "all connection, commerce and dealings" from him.[71] William never returned to Kittery.

The next summer, after the fighting commenced, the Tory exodus began. In October, 1775, Sir William closed the fine house on Summer Street and prepared to take passage to Halifax with his wife and four small children; but sorrow and misfortune went along. Either on the eve of sailing or during the voyage Lady Pepperrell died.[72] They buried her in the old churchyard in Halifax, and Sir William went on to London with the children.

Almost immediately the local revolutionary committees began to dispose of the Pepperrell properties. After the Act of Proscription and Confiscation of 1779 the whole estate, except a few of the family's personal belongings, was taken over by the Massachusetts government. The family plate was loaded in an oxcart, sent from Kittery to Boston under an armed guard, and eventually shipped to Sir William in England. Almost everything else was sold. The house and land in Boston fetched £102,000, by far the highest price of any confiscated property in the town. Among the later sales of Sir William's goods was the intriguing item of "fifteen old books sold to Mr. Adams." [73] After the Revolution, in 1788, Sir William sought a legal opinion on the question of his obtaining either com-

[71] A text of the resolution is given in Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 337–338.

[72] An entry in John Boyle's "Journal of Occurrences in Boston" suggests that Lady Pepperrell died in Boston in October, just before the departure. For the pertinent extract, see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* LXXXV (April, 1931), 120.

[73] Massachusetts Archives, Vol. CLIV, No. 68, and Vol. CLV, No. 71. In the same listing with the Pepperrell house were the Boston houses of Thomas Hutchinson and Judge Robert Auchmuty, which sold for £62,750 and £51,850 respectively.

pensation or the return of his estates under the provisions of the Treaty of Peace, only to be informed that the Massachusetts Confiscation Act was final and that he and his heirs had lost all rights to the estate.[74]

Thereafter, the life of the second Sir William Pepperrell, during the twenty-eight years that remained to him, is part of the story of an English family, and not of the merchant aristocracy of New England.

[74] Opinion on Sir Wm. Pepperrell's will by Theophilus Parsons of Newburyport, Oct. 9, 1788, Boston Public Library MS. Colls., No. Ch F-12-28.

Bibliographical Note

I. Aids to Research

In addition to the standard bibliographical aids, there are two of special interest and considerable help to the student of Maine history. Joseph Williamson, *A Bibliography of the State of Maine* (2 vols., Portland, Me., 1896), is old but is still useful for earlier writings. Elizabeth Ring, *A Reference List of Maine Manuscripts* (University of Maine *Studies,* Ser. 2, No. 45, 1938), is a fairly comprehensive, well-organized list of private and public manuscript collections of Maine history. It makes no attempt to cover out-of-state collections, but includes a few of the more notable ones.

Especially valuable for any aspect of maritime history is the bibliography by R. G. Albion, "Writings in Maritime History" (*American Neptune,* Vol. XII, No. 1, Jan., 1952, *et seq.*).

II. Manuscript Sources

A. GENERAL

Contemporary data dealing with early trade and shipping are extremely elusive. One volume of Boston customhouse clearances, for the period from March 27, 1744, to the fall of 1748, is in the manuscript collections of the Boston Athenaeum. The Library of Congress, which is in the process of obtaining copies of the various provincial naval office lists from British archives, has a volume of *Shipping Returns of Maryland, 1689–1702* (C.O. 5:749) containing some material on the Pepperrells' early trade. A tremendous amount of material from the naval office lists, including those from Piscataqua, has been transcribed under the direction of Professor L. A. Harper for the records collection of the University of California, Berkeley, California.

The voluminous collection of public documents known as the Massa-

chusetts Archives, housed in the Archives Division, Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, contains a wide variety and large volume of material, some bearing directly on the Pepperrells. There are several volumes of Maritime Papers containing Boston ship registers and lists of clearance certificates and Mediterranean certificates granted. Other volumes contain reports of Indian conferences, military journals, reports of House and Council committees, and petitions submitted to the Governor and General Court. The Journals of the Council do not report the debates and the division of votes, but are otherwise extremely useful.

The original records of the Province of Maine, or York County, as it was under the Massachusetts government, are in the York County Court House, Alfred, Maine. Court records for the period 1636–1692 have been published by the Maine Historical Society, but for the rest of them recourse must be had to the manuscript volumes.

The Town Records of Kittery, Maine, date back to 1648 and are in a fine state of preservation. Book I covers the period from 1648 through 1709; Book II, from 1710 through 1799. They contain the minutes of town meetings and the selectmen's meetings, land grants, and a few records of marriages and births.

The papers of a number of early Piscataqua merchants are still locally held, some of them privately. Among the more accessible and earlier collections are the MacPhaedris Papers in the Warner-MacPhaedris House, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. They consist of one bound volume of letters, bills of lading, and invoices of Archibald MacPhaedris from about 1716 to 1729. A large and valuable collection of New Hampshire maritime papers, including those of the Penhallow family, is in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

B. THE PEPPERRELL PAPERS

In 1855, Usher Parsons undertook to write a "Life" of Sir William Pepperrell from a collection of papers which he described as follows: "These papers had been exposed in an old shed on the Pepperrell estate, probably for half a century, and were much stained and defaced. Indeed a part of them had become almost illegible, while others, on examination, proved to be of little value, being, in fact, mere business receipts, bills of lading, accounts, and memorandums." The real story of the Pepperrells lay in the papers that Parsons discarded as worthless, and on them the present study is principally based. Fortunately the collecting instinct is strong in New England and most of the papers that were available in 1855 seem to have survived, although scattered among a number of collections.

The most well-rounded collection of Pepperrell Papers is that of the Maine Historical Society. It consists of one bound volume and a large bundle of letters, invoices, and accounts dating roughly from 1705 to 1755. The years from 1720 to 1735 are particularly well covered, and a few of the later documents relate to military affairs. The Champernowne Papers, in one bound volume, contain much material on early Kittery as well as a number of documents bearing directly on the Pepperrells. Some material of lesser importance, mainly deeds and court orders signed by one or the other of the two Pepperrells, is scattered throughout the ten-volume collection of Pejepscot Papers.

The Pepperrell Papers in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society are especially valuable for the earlier period, from 1690 to about 1725. They consist of two bound volumes containing bills of lading, receipts, vessel accounts and invoices, and a few letters. The condition of many of the documents, unfortunately, suggests that much of their life had been spent in the "old shed on the Pepperrell estate."

The Pepperrell collection of the Houghton Library at Harvard University is small but excellent. It contains about seventy or eighty documents, not any of them dead wood. A number of important letters dealing primarily with the Pepperrells' mercantile affairs and a larger number of accounts and invoices are included.

The most extensive collection of Pepperrell documents is that of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. Most of the material in this collection deals, however, with military matters. There are three volumes relating entirely to the Louisbourg expedition of 1745. A fourth volume and a folder of unbound documents contain some papers dealing with Sir William's subsequent military career, a few vessel and business accounts, and a large amount of correspondence between the Pepperrells and their business associates. Jeremy Belknap and Francis Parkman made use of the Louisbourg papers for their accounts of the siege, and a large number of them have been published in the printed *Collections* of the Society.

In addition to the major Pepperrell collections there are a number of scattered letters, bills of lading, and receipts in the Chamberlain, Miscellaneous Manuscript, and General Manuscript collections of the Boston Public Library; in the Miscellaneous Papers, Dennett Papers, and Myers Collection of the New York Public Library; in the manuscript collection of the Maine State Library, Augusta, Maine; and in the manuscript collection of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

The Frost Papers and the Wildes Papers, both in the possession of Mr. Joseph W. P. Frost of Kittery Point, Maine, contain a fine collec-

tion of Pepperrell documents, perhaps a hundred or more letters, bills and accounts, and documents dealing with military matters. The Watkins Papers, in the possession of Mrs. W. B. Watkins, Berryville, Virginia, include a number of letters and documents written at the time of the Louisbourg expedition.

The Warren Papers (4 vols.) and the Louisbourg Papers of the Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, complement the material on the Louisbourg expedition in the various Pepperrell collections. The Louisbourg Papers consist of letters written during the campaign by Thomas Westbrook Waldron and several other New Hampshire men, in which their attitude towards the affair is sharply revealed.

III. Published Sources

A. OFFICIAL AND SEMIOFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

As a general source, W. N. Sainsbury *et al.*, eds., *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series, America and West Indies* (35 vols., London, 1860–1939), is too well known to require comment. The earliest reference to the Pepperrells' trade is in the 1681–1685 volume. Unfortunately the series ends with 1733. Data concerning the measures taken by Massachusetts to protect and regulate Piscataqua shipping can be found in Volume I of E. Ames and A. C. Goodell, eds., *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (17 vols., Boston, 1869–1910). Volume I covers the period 1692–1714. Material dealing with the Pepperrells' business associates in North Carolina is in Volume II of W. L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (10 vols., Raleigh, N.C., 1886–1890).

Almost indispensable for any study of life in early Maine are: W. M. Sargent, ed., *Maine Wills, 1640–1760* (Portland, Me., 1887); W. M. Sargent *et al.*, eds., *York Deeds* (18 vols., Portland and Bethel, Me., 1887–1910); C. T. Libby and R. E. Moody, eds., *Province and Court Records of Maine* (3 vols., Portland, Me., 1928–1947); and J. P. Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine* (Portland, Me., 1889).

B. CONTEMPORARY PERIODICALS

The weekly *Boston News-Letter,* first published in 1704, is an invaluable source of information on the maritime life of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. This is where Boston merchants looked for news of shipwrecks and piracy and occasionally of foreign markets. It is the most readily available source today for Boston entrances and clearances. The following inconsistency should be noted, however: vessels arriving

from foreign ports by way of Piscataqua were sometimes reported as coming from Piscataqua and sometimes from the foreign port.

Although serving a maritime community, the weekly *New Hampshire Gazette* carried a smaller proportion of shipping and commercial news than the older Boston paper. First published at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1756 when war was the absorbing topic, the *Gazette* in its first two years devoted most of its space to foreign dispatches. However, arrivals and departures were reported fairly regularly through 1757. The file in the Portsmouth Athenaeum is about 90 per cent complete through 1758.

English comment on the Louisbourg expedition and an occasional item concerning Sir William Pepperrell's London activities during his visit there can be found in the *London Magazine,* a monthly publication, for 1744–1745 and 1749–1750.

C. PRIVATE PUBLICATIONS

Privately held Pepperrell letters and documents, with accompanying sketches based on secondary works, as well as a number of Kittery tax lists and several petitions for abatement of taxes are scattered throughout the Maine Historical Society *Collections* (22 vols., Portland, Me.) and the earlier volumes of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (101 vols., Boston). Few of the documents in the large Pepperrell collections of the two societies have appeared in their own publications.

Although trimmed ruthlessly by the original editor, interesting details of the growth of Falmouth and the Casco Bay region after 1725 can be found in William Willis, ed., *Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith* (2nd ed., Portland, Me., 1849). The "Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674–1729" and Sewall's "Letterbook" (Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* Ser. 5, Vols. V–VII, and Ser. 6, Vol. I) are, considering the Sewall connection, singularly devoid of material bearing on the Pepperrells.

An extremely interesting picture of shipboard life, under rather unusual circumstances, is revealed in the journal of John Sherburne, afterwards master of a Pepperrell schooner, in L. W. Jenkins, "A New Hampshireman Transports Spanish Troops to Oran—1732" (*American Neptune,* Vol. VI, 1946, pp. 179–193).

Most of the published source material bearing on the Pepperrells relates to the Louisbourg expedition. The most important works are: Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* Ser. 1, Vol. I (1792), and *Pepperrell Papers* (Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* Ser.

6, Vol. X, 1899); L. E. de Forest, ed., *Louisbourg Journals, 1745* (New York, 1932); and Benjamin Green's journal of the siege, published as *The Journal of Sir William Pepperrell* (Worcester, Mass., 1910), by C. H. Lincoln, ed. Volume I of C. H. Lincoln, ed., *Correspondence of William Shirley* (2 vols., New York, 1912), contains some additional material relating to the period of the Louisbourg expedition; Volume II covers the period after 1752. A glimpse of the dangers and uncertainties of eighteenth-century ocean voyages and an account of George Whitefield's visit to Piscataqua on the eve of the Louisbourg expedition is in E. E. Eells, ed., "An Unpublished Journal of George Whitefield," *Church History,* VII (1938), 297–345.

Sir William Pepperrell's character and military talents are extolled in the Rev. Benjamin Stevens, *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Hon. Sir Wm. Pepperrell, Bart.* (Boston, 1759). Stevens succeeded the Rev. John Newmarch as minister of the Kittery Point church.

IV. Secondary Works

A. COLONIAL TRADE AND TRADERS

The importance of the study of maritime activity in any attempt to understand the colonial age and the problems involved in such a study are best presented in Charles M. Andrews, "Colonial Commerce" (*American Historical Review,* Vol. XX, No. 1, 1914). Nevertheless, in spite of a vast number of articles and monographs, many of excellent quality, the subject still awaits adequate treatment. Serious research has been almost entirely confined to the period following 1763, and the results have yet to be incorporated into an account covering the colonies as a whole during that period. Efforts to survey the entire colonial era have had to proceed, for the most part, on the assumption that conditions in the later years were typical also of the earlier years.

Of the larger-scale histories, colonial commerce is given the best treatment in Volume II of Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (6 vols., New York, 1905–1925); in C. P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization* (New York, 1945); and in J. T. Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690–1763* (A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox, eds., *A History of American Life,* Vol. III, New York, 1938). The trade of the several colonies at the middle of the eighteenth century is touched upon lightly in Volume II and Volume III of L. H. Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution* (7 vols., New York, 1936–1950; additional volumes forthcoming). In sharper focus are the surveys of colonial commerce in chapter three of E. C. Kirkland, *A History of American Economic Life* (New York, 1939), and R. G. Albion, "Colonial Com-

merce and Commercial Regulation," in H. F. Williamson, ed., *The Growth of the American Economy* (New York, 1944). Volume I of E. R. Johnson *et al., History of the Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* (2 vols., Washington, D.C., 1915), covers the colonial period, but is primarily a statistical study based on admittedly inaccurate contemporary data and ignores the coastal trade.

The colonial era receives scant attention in histories of the American merchant marine. The most recent work on this subject, S. W. Bryant, *The Sea and the States* (New York, 1947), is an attempt, laudable in conception but feeble in execution, to combine naval and merchant marine history. The less glamorous merchant sailors suffer in the comparison; and the story of colonial commerce becomes one of foul-smelling whalers and of brutality and lechery in the slave trade. W. L. Marvin, *The American Merchant Marine* (New York, 1902), and J. R. Spears, *The Story of the American Merchant Marine* (New York, 1910), although sketchy, are still the best.

The most thorough and most satisfactory account of colonial trade and commerce can be found in two excellent works which treat of that subject from two different points of view. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness, 1625–1742* (New York, 1938), is a detailed but never dull study in which commerce and trade are placed within the broader setting of urban growth. C. P. Nettels, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies before 1720* (University of Wisconsin *Studies,* No. 20, Madison, Wis., 1934), is, on the other hand, a study of currency and finance within the framework of commerce and trade.

The pioneering work of G. L. Beer in the field of England's commercial policy has been largely superseded by Volume IV of C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (4 vols., New Haven, 1934–1938), which traces the development of English mercantilism as a colonial policy; by L. A. Harper, *The English Navigation Laws* (New York, 1939), which, stressing the procedural side, treats of the Navigation Acts as "an experiment in social engineering" designed to foster English shipping; and by O. M. Dickerson, *The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1951).

A number of works on special topics may be briefly noted. A. A. Giesecke, *American Commercial Legislation before 1789* (Philadelphia, 1910), is an incredibly close duplicate of W. E. Fisher, "American Trade Regulations before 1789" (American Historical Association *Papers,* Vol. III, 1889). W. S. McClellan, *Smuggling in the American Colonies at the Outbreak of the Revolution* (New York, 1912), is worthy of note primarily for an interesting distinction drawn between evasions, on

the one hand, of the "Acts of Trade and Navigation which aimed to restrict the colonial trade to England" and the violation of measures, such as the Molasses Act, that were "opposed to some natural and essential channel of commerce." Allyn B. Forbes, "Greenwich Hospital Money" (*New England Quarterly,* Vol. III, 1930), gives a short account of the sixpence per month collected from seamen on English and colonial vessels for the support of the Greenwich Hospital. R. G. Albion, "Sea Routes," in Critchell Rimington, ed., *Merchant Fleets* (New York, 1944), deals with a neglected subject. A matter of highest interest to colonial shipowners is given excellent treatment by Dora Mae Clarke, "The Impressment of Seamen in the American Colonies," in *Essays in Colonial History* (New Haven, 1931) by students of C. M. Andrews, and by R. B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946).

On the trade of the New England colonies, a mass of information, poorly organized, can be found in W. B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England* (2 vols., Boston, 1890), which also contains a short account of the Pepperrells' mercantile activities based on Usher Parsons' "biography." S. E. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* (2nd ed., Boston, 1941), has a synopsis, vigorously told, of the colonial background. The excellent account of the founding of Maine and Massachusetts in Volume I of Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History,* previously cited, closes with a fine summary of Massachusetts trade during the first half of the seventeenth century. Passenger accommodations are briefly touched upon in G. F. Dow, "Shipping and Trade in Early New England" (Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings,* Vol. LXIV, 1932), which is, for the most part, a hodgepodge of data concerning some "unusual" cargoes culled from Salem customs records in the Essex Institute. J. W. McElroy, "Seafaring in Seventeenth Century New England" (*New England Quarterly,* Vol. VIII, 1935), is a rambling, interesting account of early voyages drawn largely from Massachusetts court records.

The mercantile career and business methods of two of the leading Boston merchants, Thomas and John Hancock, are described in detail in W. T. Baxter, *The House of Hancock* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945). For a general picture of Boston's trade, recourse must be had to the works of Bridenbaugh and Nettels, referred to previously. R. E. Moody, "Massachusetts' Trade with Carolina, 1686–1709" (*North Carolina Historical Review,* Vol. XX, No. 1, 1943) concludes, on the basis of data covering less than three years of the period, that Boston's trade with the Carolinas from 1686 to 1709 was "not of great importance."

The Pepperrells had very little, if any, direct commercial contact

with Salem, which commercially as well as geographically was close to Boston, or with Rhode Island and the Connecticut outports. Valuable material for comparative purposes can be found in J. D. Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1937); F. M. Caulkins, *History of New London, Connecticut* (New London, 1895); and J. B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations: Colonial Years* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952). Based principally on post-1750 material, the Hedges book is a fine example of a mercantile history. R. M. Hooker, *The Colonial Trade of Connecticut* (New Haven, 1936), published for the Connecticut State Tercentary Commission, is an excellent survey of the subject. Economic conditions in western Massachusetts during the Revolution are covered in L. N. Newcomer, *The Embattled Farmers* (New York, 1952).

V. D. Harrington, *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1935), examines the practices of New York merchants and the pattern of their trade during the period immediately preceding the Revolution. D. R. Fox, *Caleb Heathcote, Gentleman Colonist* (New York, 1926), is an excellent study of a New York contemporary of the first William Pepperrell, with emphasis on Heathcote's political career.

F. B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948), is a broad study, interestingly written, of the Quaker merchants of colonial Philadelphia. Very little has been published that throws much light on the Pepperrells' trade with the southern colonies. M. S. Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689–1715* (Johns Hopkins University *Studies,* Vol. XXXII, No. 3, Baltimore, 1914), is adequate only for Maryland's tobacco trade with England. C. P. Gould, "The Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore," in *Essays in Colonial History* (New Haven, 1931) by the students of C. M. Andrews, is a fine account of the development of the Maryland grain trade, with emphasis on back-country production rather than on the export trade. There is a good description of the North Carolina coast and the naval stores industry in C. C. Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763–1789* (New Haven, 1936), but no material is presented covering the period of the Pepperrells. S. C. Hughson, *The Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce, 1670–1740* (Johns Hopkins University *Studies,* Vol. XII, Baltimore, 1894), is concerned more with pirates than with commerce. It presents some account of the relations between Governor Eden and two of the Pepperrells' business acquaintances, Edward Moseley and Henry Clayton, as does Volume I of S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (2 vols., Greensboro, N.C., 1908).

The story of the West India trade of the colonies can be pieced to-

gether from shards dug out of a number of works. V. T. Harlow, *A History of Barbados, 1625–1685* (Oxford, 1926), touches upon the early commercial relations of New England and Barbados. F. W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1763* (New Haven, 1917), has long been a standard work, but gives disproportionate treatment to the question of illicit trade and too little space to the legal trade between the North American colonies and the British islands. Ruth Bourne, *Queen Anne's Navy in the West Indies* (New Haven, 1939), is extremely useful. Caribbean commerce and Great Power diplomacy are covered in unbelievable detail by Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739–1763* (Oxford, 1936). H. C. Bell, "The West India Trade before the American Revolution" (*American Historical Review,* Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1917), is only an adequate summary of the trade pattern and business methods of Philadelphia's West India merchants during the period from 1763 to 1776, but it might well serve as a guide for the broader treatment implied in the title.

The sugar industry of the British islands, as viewed by a planter of the late eighteenth century, is described in Bryan Edwards' classic, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1806). Further material is given in F. W. Pitman, "The Settlement and Financing of British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century," in *Essays in Colonial History* (New Haven, 1931) by the students of C. M. Andrews. Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, *History of Barbados* (London, 1848), has not yet been superseded. V. L. Oliver, *History of the Island of Antigua* (3 vols., London, 1894–1899), is primarily a compilation of the pedigrees of the more important Antigua families and useful as such.

New England's trade with Newfoundland is concisely summarized in R. G. Lounsbury, "Yankee Trade at Newfoundland" (*New England Quarterly,* Vol. III, No. 4, 1930), with perhaps too much emphasis on smuggling. The political history of Newfoundland, its development as a colony rather than as a fishery, is described by the same author in *The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634–1763* (New Haven, 1934); and the growth of the fishing industry is covered in excellent fashion by H. A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries* (New Haven, 1940). Raymond McFarland, *A History of the New England Fisheries* (New York, 1911), is unsatisfactory, but perhaps the best study of the Massachusetts industry. It is, unfortunately, least satisfactory for the colonial period. Models of early fishing vessels and an interesting eighteenth-century print showing fishing stages and flakes at Newfoundland are reproduced in R. H. Gabriel, *Toilers of Land and Sea* (R. H. Gabriel, ed., *The Pageant of America,* Vol. III, New Haven, 1926).

The best and most fertile source of information on colonial vessels is H. I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York, 1946). E. P. Morris, *The Fore-and-Aft Rig in America* (New Haven, 1927), traces the development of the fore-and-aft rig and effectively disposes of the legend that Captain Robinson of Gloucester "invented" the schooner. E. R. Robinson and G. F. Dow, *The Sailing Ships of New England* (Salem, Mass., Ser. 1–3, 1922–1928), are excellent for the post-Revolutionary and nineteenth-century periods, but contain little material on colonial sailing vessels.

B. LOUISBOURG AND THE FRENCH WARS

French efforts to counterbalance the loss of Acadia after 1713 are traced in J. S. McLennan, *Louisbourg from Its Foundation to Its Fall, 1713–1758* (London, 1918), and D. C. Harvey, *The French Regime in Prince Edward Island* (New Haven, 1926). New England's preliminary steps towards the Louisbourg expedition of 1745 and preparations for invading Canada in 1746 are best followed in G. A. Wood, *William Shirley* (New York, 1920). McLennan's history of Louisbourg and Francis Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (2 vols., Boston, 1892), together give the fullest story of the expedition and siege. Parkman's anecdotal account is the more vivid; McLennan shows greater familiarity with French sources. Jeremy Belknap, *The History of New Hampshire* (3 vols., Dover, N.H., 1812), gives an interesting description of the affair, particularly useful for the part played by New Hampshire. A roll of troops from Maine and an extensive list of contemporary journals and accounts of the expedition are assembled in H. S. Burrage, *Maine at Louisbourg in 1745* (Augusta, Me., 1910). Burrage's account of the expedition is unreliable.

The outbreak of the war in America in 1754 and the campaigns of the next five years are described and reinterpreted, and Governor Shirley's role is vigorously applauded, in Volumes VI and VII of L. H. Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution,* already cited.

C. MAINE AND THE PISCATAQUA

The best general account of the settlement of Maine is in Volume I of C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History,* cited previously. A large part of the early history of Piscataqua, as seen from the New Hampshire side of the river, is described in one of the best of the early provincial histories: Jeremy Belknap, *The History of New Hampshire,* cited above. Additional material dealing with the settlements in Maine can be found in James Sullivan, *The History of the*

District of Maine (Boston, 1795), and in the more thorough W. D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine* (2nd ed., 2 vols., Hallowell, Me., 1839). Neither of the Maine histories quite measures up to Belknap's fine performance, either in style or selectivity. The New England frontier is discussed and compared with the later western frontiers in chapter two of F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920). The influence of the New World on the first settlers and the development of an American society are traced in T. J. Wertenbaker, *The First Americans, 1607–1690* (New York, 1927).

Genealogical data concerning the early Piscataqua pioneers can be found in C. T. Libby, Sybil Noyes, and W. G. Davis, *Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire* (7 parts, Portland, Me., 1928–1939), and in C. H. Pope, *The Pioneers of Maine and New Hampshire* (Boston, 1908). A biographical sketch of Francis Champernowne and also one of Christopher Kilby appear in C. W. Tuttle, *Captain Francis Champernowne and Other Historical Papers* (Boston, 1889). R. S. Bartlett, "Alexander Shapleigh" (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* Vol. XCV, 1941), and H. S. Burrage, "Col. Nathaniel Sparhawk of Kittery" (Maine Historical Society *Collections,* Ser. 2, Vol. IX), are brief sketches. A few population figures can be derived from data in E. B. Greene and V. D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932). W. P. Randel, "Town Names of York County, Maine" (*New England Quarterly,* Vol. XI, 1938), notes the West Country origin of many of them, including Kittery, as contrasted to the East Anglian origin of Massachusetts place names. N. H. Dawes, "Titles as Symbols of Prestige in Seventeenth Century New England" (*William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. VI, Jan., 1939), discusses an interesting subject on which very little material exists.

W. G. Saltonstall, *Ports of Piscataqua* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), is a lively, well-written account of maritime activity on the river before 1860, in which the colonial background is painted in bold strokes with scarcely a slip of the brush. The mast trade of Piscataqua within the broader setting of England's timber problem and naval policy is given definitive treatment in R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea Power* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926). Any study of Piscataqua trade must take its departure from these two works. W. H. Rowe, *The Maritime History of Maine* (New York, 1948), is a nostalgic account of the romantic days of sail with emphasis on the ships and shipbuildng. It is weak on the colonial period and the Pepperrells.

The Piscataqua deserves much better than it has received at the hands of its local historians. It is unfortunate that local history has so

often taken the form either of dull chronicles that plod wearily from year to year or of aimless rambles into the past which, however pleasant, are more apt to encounter pixies than to uncover historical fact. In one or the other category are: J. S. Jenness, *The Isles of Shoals* (2nd ed., Boston, 1915); W. W. C. [W. W. Clayton], *History of York County, Maine* (Philadelphia, 1880); H. M. Sylvester, *The Romance of Old York* (Boston, 1909); Nathaniel Adams, *Annals of Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1825); C. W. Brewster, *Rambles about Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, N.H., Ser. 1, 1859, and Ser. 2, 1869). Ralph May, *Early Portsmouth History* (Boston, 1926), is an improvement on the early works. E. S. Stackpole, *Old Kittery and Her Families* (Lewiston, Me., 1903), is useful for genealogical material, for the location and description of early houses, and for data, all of it unassimilated, on the early settlement of Kittery. William Gould, *Portland in the Past* (Portland, Me., 1886), describes the transporting of the Pepperrell silver to Boston after the second Sir William left in the Loyalist emigration.

D. THE PEPPERRELLS

For almost half a century after the publication of Belknap's and Sullivan's histories and the first volume of Pepperrell papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* interest in the hero of Louisbourg lagged. Then, in 1839, Williamson appended a biographical sketch of Sir William to his *History of the State of Maine.* As a result of the prominent part played by the second Sir William in Loyalist affairs, an account of the Pepperrells was given in G. A. Ward, ed., *Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen* (New York, 1842), and in Lorenzo Sabine, *American Loyalists* (Boston, 1847), later expanded into his *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists* (2 vols., Boston, 1864). Nathaniel Hawthorne, for one of his purely mercenary periodical stints, wrote a short sketch of Sir William at Louisbourg, later published in *Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers* (Boston, 1883).

In 1855 appeared the first edition of Usher Parsons, *The Life of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart.* (3rd ed., Boston, 1856). Parsons' view was that the years preceding the Louisbourg expedition "afford few events worthy of notice," and only one-eighth of his book is devoted to the career of the Pepperrells prior to 1745. Many of Parsons' generalizations relating to the early period are unsound. His account (on page 33) of the preparations made by William for organizing the frontier defenses in 1738–1740 is taken word for word without quotation or acknowledgment from Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine,* II, 201. The remainder of Parsons' book consists almost entirely of let-

ters and extracts of letters relating chiefly to the Louisbourg expedition and subsequent military affairs. Many of the letters cannot be found elsewhere; but they must be used with caution, for Parsons made omissions and inserted words without warning, which in some cases has changed the sense of the document. A few years later Parsons contributed a biographical sketch of Sir William to Freeman Hunt, ed., *Lives of American Merchants* (2 vols., New York, 1858), which consisted primarily of verbatim extracts from his previous work and in which the Louisbourg affair was reduced to a two-page complaint that the army was deprived unfairly of sharing in the prizes taken by the naval forces.

All later sketches of the Pepperrells rely heavily on Parsons' work. A. H. Hoyt, "Pepperrell Papers" (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* Vol. XXVIII, 1874), introduces several letters of Sir William, Christopher Kilby, and Admiral Knowles with a summary of William's career based on Parsons' book. William Salter, "Adventures of a Merchant-Tradesman on the American Continent" (*Journal of American History,* Vol. IV, 1910), does likewise for some correspondence between the first William Pepperrell and Roger Prowse of Exeter. A brief sketch of Sir William in J. F. Sprague, *Three Men from Maine* (Dover-Foxcroft, Me., 1924), is in many places a word-for-word copy of Parsons' larger work and for the rest leans on the account in the Curwen *Journal* and on E. P. Wheeler, *Memorial in Support of the Nomination of Sir William Pepperrell . . . to the Hall of Fame* (Pepperrell Association, New York, 1920). Wheeler's pamphlet is an enlargement of similar *Memorial*'s presented in 1910 and 1915 by the same author and shows signs of wider reading on the part of the author than the articles of Hoyt, Salter, and Sprague. A similar sketch of the two William Pepperrells, written in more sweeping, popular style, is in Arthur Pound, *Native Stock* (New York, 1931), in which the Pepperrells are treated as exemplars of "the American Spirit." J. T. Adams has written the brief article on Sir William Pepperrell in the *Dictionary of American Biography.*

C. H. C. Howard, *The Pepperrells in America* (Salem, Mass., 1906), is an extensive genealogy of American descendants of the Pepperrells.

E. PHYSICAL SURVIVALS

Kittery Point is fortunate in the number of old buildings that remain from the days of the Pepperrels. John Bray's home, built about 1662, still stands, although considerably added to and renovated. The Pepperrell mansion and countinghouse, the Joan Dearing house, built by

the sister-in-law of the first William Pepperrell, the Lady Pepperrell house, built in 1760 by Sir William's widow, the church, built in 1730, and a number of other buildings still remain in various conditions of change. The most recent victim of progress is the Sparhawk House, built in 1742 for Elizabeth Pepperrell and her husband, Nathaniel Sparhawk, which in 1953 was in process of being dismantled. J. E. Frost, *Colonial Village* (Kittery Point, Me., [1948]), contains interesting data on the original dwellers and subsequent owners of most of the colonial buildings in Kittery. J. M. Howells, *The Architectural Heritage of the Piscataqua* (New York, c. 1937), contains photographs and plans of many of the houses. Additional photographs can be found in Frost's work and in *Old Kittery* (Kittery Tercentenary Committee, Kittery, Me., 1947).

Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in the footnotes are given below.

Cal. St. Papers ..... W. N. Sainsbury *et al.*, eds., *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series, America and West Indies* (35 vols., London, 1860–1939).

HUHL MSS. ..... Harvard University, Houghton Library manuscript collections, Pepperrell Papers.

MeHS MSS. ..... Maine Historical Society manuscript collections, Pepperrell Papers.

MHS MSS. ..... Massachusetts Historical Society manuscript collections, Pepperrell Papers.

NEHG MSS. ..... New England Historic Genealogical Society manuscript collections, Pepperrell Papers.

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